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THE
WALDENSES
in the
New World



Peter Waldo

(From a print by Paschetto, modern Waldensian artist)

THE
WALDENSES
in the
New World

GEORGE B. WATTS



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TO

HELEN JOHNSON WATTS

Whose calm, faith, and devotion have been to the writer
during the sad days in which these pages were composed
“A Light,” which “Shineth in Darkness”

PREFACE

THE AUTHOR is indebted to many for the idea and the gathering of data for a history of the Waldenses in the New World. Many times had he passed through the thriving town of Valdese, North Carolina. For several years he had had the friendship of sons of the Waldensian colony who were students at Davidson College. The idea of studying the history of this group of people did not occur to him, however, until he heard the proposal of Professor Gilbert Chinard, of Princeton University, who, at the meetings of the Modern Language Association of America at Columbia University in December, 1938, remarked, while discussing a paper dealing with the French of Charleston, South Carolina, that it was the duty of all those interested in French language and literature to record for posterity any information concerning French settlements in America. The author thought of the French-speaking Waldenses of Valdese, Burke County, North Carolina. To his surprise he learned that save in scattered articles in local magazines and newspapers there had been written little on the Waldenses of this colony. No complete or authoritative history was available. Furthermore, there was nothing for English readers concerning the Waldenses who came to America as refugees in Colonial times or as colonists to North and South America during the nineteenth century.

The plan to collect this material in one volume soon led the writer into many an unexpected path and brought him into contact with many kindly people in North and South America and Italy. He would here give expression of gratitude to the large number who have given encouragement, advice, and information. To name them all is impossible.

Official encouragement came immediately from the President of Davidson College, Dr. Walter Lee Lingle, who assigned college funds for the expenses of travel and research. Dr. Lingle frequently gave useful advice and aid.

Especially helpful were the Reverend Robert W. Anthony, past General Secretary of the American Waldensian Aid Society, and Pastor Pietro Griglio of the First Waldensian Church of New York. Mr. Anthony assisted in much of the research work in New York libraries and was a constant source of information and counsel. Pastor Griglio

furnished most of the data concerning the Waldenses of New York City and those scattered widely over North America.

Acknowledgment of the aid of these and many others has been made throughout this study. The author would stress his gratitude for the assistance of the following: Mr. Antoine Grill, of Valdese; Mr. T. A. Mermoud, of Monett, Missouri; Mrs. Hilda Hugon Cunningham, of Denton, Texas; Mr. Lévi Long, of Ogden, Utah; Pastor Barthélemy Soulier, of San Germano Chisone, Italy; Moderator Ernesto Comba and Professor David Bosio, of Rome, Italy; Pastor Daniel Breeze, of Uruguay; and Pastor Silvio Long, of Argentina. He would also express his appreciation for the encouragement and suggestions given by Dr. Roland H. Bainton, Professor of Church History, Yale University; Dr. Edgar Franklin Romig, President of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America; Dr. Frank C. Brown, of Duke University; and Professor William Patterson Cumming, of the English Department of Davidson College, who suggested the title and supplied bibliographical data.

The lists of colonists in the Appendix were drawn up with the assistance of Messrs. Griglio, Mermoud, Long, Grill, and Mrs. Cunningham. The author sought in vain for authoritative lists of settlers during the Colonial period. In order that a similar lack should not exist in reference to the more modern colonies and groups it seemed advisable to add these lists, which have been made as complete as possible.

G. B. W.

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THE
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CHAPTER I

WALDO AND HIS FOLLOWERS, OR THE POOR MEN OF LYONS

The Cottian Alps, lying between the Maritime Alps and the Graian Alps, form the boundary between Italy and France. This lofty chain is watered by the Po and its many tributaries, among which are the Pellice, the Chisone, and the latter's confluent, the Germanasca or the San Martino. The Pellice and its tributaries rise in the southern portion of this region, while the Chisone passes along its northeastern border. The latter's main confluent, the Germanasca, flows wholly within the northern part of the area.

The greatest length of the Waldensian territory from southeast to northwest is about twenty-two miles; its greatest width is a bit less than sixteen. The total area is considerably less than three hundred square miles, of which surface hardly a sixth can be cultivated. Living within this region, some thirty or forty miles southwest of Turin, are about twenty-two thousand Protestants, the Waldenses.¹

The parishes in a part of the valley of the Chisone and those in the valleys of the Angrogna and the San Martino have no bottomlands and are made up of sides and summits of mountains, whereas those of the lower regions of the Chisone and the Pellice, such as San Giovanni and Torre Pellice, have orchards, vineyards, and cultivated fields. The wildest and most barren of the seventeen Waldensian parishes is that of Prali, high above the San Martino.

The early history of this hardy race of mountaineer Christians has been obscured and complicated by controversial considerations. Do they, as many of their historians have asserted, go back in unbroken succession to the Apostles; are they the descendants of the various groups of dissenters of northern Italy and southeastern France, who found refuge in the Alpine slopes on both sides of the border; or are

¹ In view of the many articles and longer works on the history of the Waldensian people and their Church which are available for the English reader in encyclopedias, histories of religion, translations from French and Italian histories, and other sources, the author believes that an extensive treatment of the subject is unnecessary here. A description of the Waldensian valleys, a brief outline of the main events in the history of the Waldenses, and a statement concerning their present condition will suffice. See the Bibliography for a list of selected works dealing with Waldensian history.

they the heirs of Peter Waldo and the Poor Men of Lyons of the end of the twelfth century?

Modern scholars refuse to accept the Waldensian claim to apostolic antiquity and hold that the Waldensian sect grew out of a fusion of the labors of Waldo and his followers with the movements of earlier reformers, such as Arnold of Brescia, Peter of Bruys, and Henry of Cluny. One eminent American historian resolves the troublesome problem of the origin of the Waldenses in the following manner. She sees in Peter Waldo "a prophet of primitive Christianity," round whom and whose followers "gathered the Arnoldisti and the Humiliati of Italy, the Petrobrusians and Albigensians of France, and perhaps the Apostolics of the Rhine Valley."²

Peter Waldo (1140?-1217), a wealthy merchant of Lyons, became convinced in 1173 that every man had a right to read and interpret the Scriptures for himself. He engaged two priests to translate portions of the Bible into the language of the people. He accepted for himself Christ's invitation to the rich young ruler (Luke 18:23), selling his goods and distributing the proceeds among the poor. He made a modest provision for his family, took a vow of poverty, begged and preached in the streets, and gathered round him a body of followers, who in their turn went about with the message of self-abnegation and became known as the Poor Men of Lyons.

They soon got into difficulties with the Archbishop of Lyons, who forbade their preaching. They insisted that they would obey God rather than man, and continued their preaching. Peter Waldo appealed to the Pope, going with a few of his followers to Rome and attending the third Lateran Council in 1179, under Alexander III. Permission to preach in the vulgar tongue and to spread the Gospel was not given. Daring to continue their ministrations, the Poor Men of Lyons were put under a ban by the Council of Verona of 1184.

Waldo and his disciples were soon forced to leave Lyons and to seek refuge abroad. "They scattered in all directions, always by twos, and preached the Gospel everywhere as they went. Shortly they were found in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Flanders, in England, in Switzerland, in Germany, in Spain, in Italy, and in Greece."³ Perhaps some of the six thousand followers of Peter Waldo retired to the valleys of the Alps and reached Piedmont. The majority, however, went into Provence and Languedoc, where they united with other dissidents.

² Ellen Scott Davison, *Forerunners of Saint Francis* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927), p. 237.

³ Jean Jalla, *Les Vaudois des Alpes* (Torre Pellice: "Bottega Della Carta," 1934), p. 17.

So numerous did the Albigensians and Waldensians become in southern France that in 1208 Pope Innocent III proclaimed against them a crusade, known as the Albigensian Crusade. Thousands were put to death; other thousands fled to unite with the groups of Waldo's followers who had preceded them into exile. According to tradition, Peter Waldo joined those who fled to the Alps. Others assert that he took refuge in Bohemia, where he died. The inquisitors pursued the fugitives wherever they had sought safety, and it is from the accounts of their persecutors that most of the information about the Waldenses of this time comes.

In spite of persecutions the Waldenses in the widely scattered communities of Europe did not entirely disappear, but left "in all countries deeply planted seeds, which produced an abundant harvest in the days of Luther and Calvin."⁴ During the thirteenth century groups of Waldenses were flourishing in Lombardy. A school was maintained for over a century and a half in Milan. In 1280 large numbers in Sicily were savagely harassed. From these Italian centers, from France, and from other countries the oppressed sought the protection of the valleys of the Alps, where the Waldenses have stood fast, enduring persecutions and poverty, to the present day.

For a considerable length of time they enjoyed relative peace, being less exposed within their secluded valleys to pursuit by their enemies than were other sects of heretics. Off the highways of trade and travel, the Waldenses were able to preserve their organization and their beliefs; so, although several attempts were made to suppress them, the terrain was too arduous, and they were too isolated and obscure to make it seem worth while to organize expeditions against them.

In 1487, however, a bull of Pope Innocent VIII aroused against them a veritable crusade. The bull declared that whoever should kill a heretic should receive pardon for his sins and have the right to keep any property taken from his victim. A crusading army under the command of an archdeacon of Cremona, Alberto Cattaneo, attacked the Waldenses in Piedmont and in Dauphiny at the same time. A heroic defense by the Italian Waldenses, aided by a fog which interfered with the army marching against them in their refuge in the Val Angrogna, repulsed the invading forces with heavy losses. In the French Waldensian valleys Cattaneo, aided by the troops of the King of France, massacred the Waldenses of Freyssinière and Vallouise.

During the short period of tranquillity which followed, the Waldenses learned of the movement of reform which was crystallizing in

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Switzerland and Germany. In 1526 the Synod of Laus commissioned two Waldensian pastors to go to Geneva and Germany to make inquiries and to bring back some Protestant writings. Six years later at the Synod of Cianforan (Angrogna) the reformers Farel, Saumier, and Olivétan met with a large gathering of Waldensian laymen and pastors. Farel's eloquence was influential in persuading the majority of those present to adopt the propositions of the Reformers. They accepted a new confession of faith, which recognized the doctrine of election and assimilated the practices of the Waldenses with those of the Swiss. Olivétan remained for three years in the valleys, teaching and establishing schools. He had been commissioned by the Waldenses to prepare a translation of the Bible. This he completed during his stay among the people; it was printed in Neuchâtel in September, 1535.

Some twenty or thirty years were required to supply suitable ministers for the Waldensian congregations and to organize the teaching and discipline of the church. One of the main difficulties was the language. The pastors who were sent to the valleys from France and Switzerland could preach only in French; those who had been trained in Milan did not speak the Vaudois dialects. Therefore the French and Italian pastors and teachers taught the Waldenses French and Italian so that these languages could be used in the churches and schools.

In 1555 Calvin sent to the valleys Jean Vernou, a French exile. He inaugurated public worship in the Val Cluson. He was so impressed by the zeal of his hearers that he returned to Geneva to secure other pastors. He soon departed for Piedmont with four other French refugees. They were captured in Chambéry and burned at the stake; other ministers suffered imprisonment and death. Nevertheless, the work flourished: new churches were built, and new congregations were organized. "In 1559 there were thirty ministers and forty thousand Protestants."⁵

Another period of relative calm followed, but with the coming to power of the young Duke of Savoy, Charles Emanuel II, in 1650, evil days came upon the valleys. A Council of the Propagation of the Faith was established in Turin. Some years later all Waldenses who refused to become Catholics were ordered to leave the Piedmont Plain and withdraw to the valleys under penalty of death and confiscation of their property. On the seventeenth of April, 1655, the Marquis of Pianezza set out against the Waldenses with a large army, including many soldiers of Louis XIV and some Irish troops who had fled before

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Cromwell. This army entered the valleys and spread destruction on every hand. More than a thousand Waldenses were put to death in the valleys of Luserna and Angrogna. This slaughter is known as the Waldensian St. Bartholomew's Day or the Piedmontese Easter.

The Waldenses suffered such brutalities and barbarisms that all Protestant Europe was aroused. Cromwell proclaimed a fast and commissioned Milton to draw up a letter to Louis XIV and the Protestant princes. Milton's famous sonnet, beginning "Avenge, O Lord Thy slaughtered saints," is but a condensation of his official documents. Cromwell sent Sir Samuel Morland to make a verbal protest to the Duke of Savoy. He visited the valleys and brought back to England many of the Waldensian writings, which were deposited in the library of Cambridge University.

These protests bore fruit: Mazarin ordered Charles Emanuel to grant amnesty to the Waldenses. The Treaty of Pinerolo was signed, allowing them free exercise of worship within the valleys; the terms of the treaty were not respected by the Piedmontese, however, and the Duke's representatives began to rebuild the fort of Torre Pellice. Foreign pastors were ordered to leave the region. Troops were sent to the valleys, and on August 6, 1663, all Waldenses were condemned to death as rebels. Their stalwart defense and the influence of Swiss mediators persuaded the Duke to issue the *Patente de Turin* on February 14, 1664, allowing freedom of worship.

Immediately after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 Louis XIV, complaining that many French Protestants had taken refuge in the Waldensian valleys, demanded that his cousin, Duke Victor Amadeus II of Savoy, should destroy the Waldensian Church. An edict by the latter on January 31, 1686, ordered the cessation of all non-Catholic services, the destruction of all Waldensian churches, and the banishment of their ministers and schoolmasters. The Waldenses resisted, but they were defeated by the troops of the Duke of Savoy and of the King of France under Catinat. By the end of the year nine thousand had been slain, and twelve thousand men, women, and children had been taken prisoners. They were confined in the fortresses and prisons of Piedmont, where thousands died. Thanks to the efforts of Swiss Protestant envoys, the surviving three thousand were allowed to go into exile to the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. Many were received in Geneva, while several groups removed to Brandenburg and other German states.

Three years later the refugees, approximately one thousand, grouped themselves round one of their pastors, Henri Arnaud, at

Noyon, on the Swiss shore of Lake Geneva. On the evening of August 16, 1689, they embarked and crossed over to Savoy, the first stage of the "Glorious Return." During the journey back to their valleys the Waldenses were attacked by a French army, which they defeated, inflicting heavy losses. During the winter they entrenched on the mountain known as La Balziglia at the end of the valley of San Martino. Mountain warfare was continued under their pastor and military commander, Henri Arnaud. By the spring of 1690 most of the Waldenses had succeeded in regaining their homes.

The Duke of Savoy made peace with them and issued on May 23, 1694, an edict, officially re-establishing them in their villages, and recognizing their religious liberty. Meanwhile many had returned from remote points of exile. Many French Protestant refugees had cast their lot with the Waldenses. Relief was sent from Holland and England; William and Mary and Queen Anne gave them generous support.

Even though Victor Amadeus II had made peace with the Waldenses, their lot during the remainder of his reign was by no means untroubled. In 1698 he signed a treaty with Louis XIV, whereby they were forbidden to have any relations with French Protestants, and whereby all Protestants born in the lands under Louis XIV were to be expelled from the valleys. The entrance into Italy of other religious exiles was banned. As a result of this treaty 2,883 persons, including seven pastors, left the Waldensian valleys to seek homes in Baden and Württemberg.

At the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession the Duke made overtures to the Waldensian pastors, inviting the Protestants whom he had banished to return to enlist in his service. Many did so, but at the end of the war they were again expelled.

In 1716 the Duke of Savoy closed the Waldensian schools, and four years later forbade Protestant worship in the valley of Pragelato. In the same year he ordered all Protestants in this valley to abjure their faith or leave the country. Some eight hundred chose to exile themselves into Switzerland.

After the French Revolution the Piedmont came under French control. The Waldenses appealed to Napoleon for assistance. He proclaimed liberty of conscience and civil equality for all citizens. By an edict of July 25, 1805, the Waldensian Church was organized into consistories.

On the fall of Napoleon, Victor Emanuel I took possession of Piedmont. One of his first acts was the placing of the Waldenses under severe restrictions. Charles Felix (1821-1831) was even more harsh:

" les autres, pour estre encore trop petite, la forcerent d'une maniere dont je n'ose pas
 " noircir le papier, afin que je ne fasse rougir les chastes personnes qui le liront. Elle
 " fut trouvée mourante, se veautrant dans son sang, comme vous le voyés dans la fi-
 " gure precedente.



" Jean Tolosan Mercier du Villar, passant l'Alpe de Julian, vit une pauvre Femme,
 " dont il dit qu'il ne sçait pas le nom, qui fuyant tant qu'elle pouvoit avec un berceau
 " sur la tête, où estoit un sien petit Enfant, voyant que les Soldats l'atteignoient, jettâ
 " son Enfant & son berceau dans la neige. S'imaginant peut-estre qu'ils n'auroient pas
 " le cœur de défaire cette tendre & innocente creature: & par ce moyen ayant gagné
 " le haut de la montagne, s'alla cacher dans le creux d'un rocher, d'où comme la Mere
 " d'un autre Moÿse, elle regardoit ce que deviendroit son Enfant: mais hélas! sa per-
 " plexité ne fut pas longue, car elle le vit bien-tôt déchirer en quatre quartiers. Quoy
 " fait, ayans encore trouvé la pauvre Mere, ils luy couperent la tête, & l'emporterent,
 " laissant son corps sur la neige.



he ordered the closing of the Waldensian college of Torre Pellice and granted permission for the holding of a synod only after repeated appeals. Charles Albert (1831-1849) excluded the Waldenses from the universities and the learned professions and from holding commissions in the army.

A new era for the Waldenses began on February 17, 1848. On that date Charles Albert, reversing his former policy of suppression, granted them freedom of conscience and worship. Some days later six hundred Waldenses, led by ten of their pastors, walked to Turin to thank the King and to hold legal public worship for the first time in that city.

Missionary work was started in earnest throughout Italy. Churches were organized in Turin in 1851, in Genoa in 1855, in Sicily in 1861, in Florence in 1863, in Venice in 1866, and in Rome in 1870, shortly after the Italian occupation of that city. Waldensian missionaries, generously aided by American Protestants, opened missions and schools in all sections of the country.

By 1897 there were twenty-two pastors and thirteen thousand members in the valleys and forty-four pastors with fifty-four hundred members in the rest of Italy. Small wonder that the Reverend Edward Everett Hale said of them at about this time that it was the most active missionary church in the world in proportion to its membership.

There are today seventeen pastors in as many valley parishes, seventy-one churches and mission stations with thirty-two ministers in other Italian centers, one in Zurich, one in Addis Ababa, seven churches and four pastors in Uruguay, three churches and two pastors in Argentina, and one church and pastor in New York City. There are thirteen Waldensian benevolent institutions in Italy. The Waldensian Theological Seminary in Rome trains the pastors, who are required to spend three years there and one year in a foreign university. The official organ of the Waldensian Church, *L'Écho des Vallées*, was founded in 1848. It was suppressed in 1939, but was published again in the winter of 1940 under the Italian title *L'Eco delle Valli Valdesi*. "For the religious services and the newspapers of the Waldensian Church one uses the Italian language exclusively," wrote Moderator Ernesto Comba on March 15, 1940. French has been discontinued in the Waldensian churches of Italy.

CHAPTER II

REFUGEES ON STATEN ISLAND AND THE DELAWARE RIVER

The Piedmontese Easter massacre of April 24, 1655, was followed by a three months' war.¹ This was brought to an end through the intervention of the Protestant ambassadors of Switzerland, Holland, and England. Many who fled from the Waldensian valleys took refuge in these countries. Some writers have claimed that as many as six hundred reached Holland, but this figure is probably too high.²

Many Waldenses, however, were exiles in Holland at this time. Not only did the Dutch offer them a shelter, but they also raised important sums of money for their assistance.³ On March 29, 1656, the burgomasters and regents of the city of Amsterdam authorized the commissioners of the Exchange Bank to pay to the receiver-general the sum of fifty thousand guilders "toward the fund collected for the distressed Waldenses."⁴ Three months later the same authorities empowered the commissioners to pay to the receiver-general an additional sum of 17,566 guilders and eleven stivers which had been collected in Amsterdam "for and on the behalf of the Waldenses."⁵

To provide permanent homes for the refugees and also to promote the Dutch colonies in America, the city of Amsterdam planned to send to New Netherlands many of the Waldenses, who were to be settled in a new colony which the city was undertaking to establish. On July 12, 1656, it made an agreement with the West India Company, whereby, for the sum of seven hundred guilders, it received title to all the Dutch territory on the South (Delaware) River from the west side of Christina Kill to Bombay Hook. This region was renamed New Amstel. Six commissioners were appointed to manage the colony. A set of regulations was drawn up, offering free transportation to the

¹ Ernesto Comba, *Storia dei Valdesi* (Torre Pellice: Tipografia Alpina, 1935), p. 171.

² Jean Jalla, *Glanures d'Histoire Vaudoise* (Torre Pellice: Tipografia Alpina, 1936), pp. 84 ff.

³ J. R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York* (2d ed.; New York: Harpers, 1859), I, 629 ff.

⁴ J. R. Brodhead, *Documents Relating to Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1856), I, 617.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 618.

colonists, land on the river side, and provisions and clothing for one year. The city agreed to send with the settlers "a proper person for a schoolmaster, who shall also read the Holy Scriptures in public and set the Psalms."⁶ The colonists were to be exempted from taxation for a period of ten years, after which they were to be taxed no higher "than those who were taxed lowest in any other district under the government of the West India Company in New Netherlands." They were to remain four years in New Amstel unless they had good reasons for leaving and were to repay the money which had been advanced on their account. The States General ratified and confirmed these arrangements on condition that a church should be organized as soon as there were two hundred inhabitants in the colony. Jacob Alrichs was appointed director.⁷

On December 19, 1656, the West India Company informed Governor Stuyvesant concerning the project, expressing its confidence in the success and increase of the new colony and stating that by the following spring it was expected that "large numbers of exiled Waldenses who shall be warned will flock thither as to an asylum."⁸ To provide for these and other colonists, the directors sent orders to the Governor to purchase, before it would be accomplished by any other nation, all the land between the South River and the Hook of the North River. They announced that "according to all appearances, many of the exiled Waldenses, who will be notified of it, will desire to go there."⁹

On Christmas Day, 1656, about one hundred and sixty-seven colonists, of whom many are believed to have been Waldenses, sailed from the Texel in three ships, the *Prince Maurice*, the *Bear*, and the *Flower of Guelder*. Evert Pietersen, who had recently passed a satisfactory examination before the classis, was sent to serve as schoolmaster, Bible reader, and song leader.

The voyage was long and rough. The ships were separated by a storm, and on March 8, 1657, the *Prince Maurice*, with Director Alrichs, Assistants van Sweringen, Krieger, d'Hinoyossa, and most of the immigrants on board, went aground about midnight on the south side of Long Island at a spot known as Sicktewacky or Secontague, near Fire Island Inlet. At daybreak the crew and passengers waded through the icy water and landed on a barren shore "without weeds, grass, or timber of any sort to make a fire." Soon several friendly

⁶ Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, I, 629 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Brodhead, *Documents Relating to Colonial History of the State of New York*, XII, 132.

Indians visited them. By them Alrichs sent a message to Governor Stuyvesant telling of their plight. The latter sent several boats to rescue passengers and cargo, and on March 20 they were brought to New Amsterdam, where the other two ships had already arrived.¹⁰

On April 12, 1657, Governor Stuyvesant turned over to Director Alrichs Fortress Casimir. Five days later the colonists departed in a chartered vessel for the South River. Although there seem to be no contemporary records of the fact, it has frequently been stated that many of the Waldenses on board the wrecked *Prince Maurice* did not go on to the South River, but remained in New Amsterdam, settling somewhat later at a place called Stony Brook, on Staten Island.

The South River colony made a good beginning. Under the direction of Alrichs many improvements were made in New Amstel. Several dwelling houses, a bridge, a bakery, and a guardhouse were erected. But before long many hardships were encountered. During 1658 the weather was very unfavorable, the crops were damaged, bilious fever was prevalent, and food was scarce. The new colonists shirked the labors of the farm and preferred loafing to any regular work, according to a report by Alrichs. The following year conditions did not improve. There were many financial and agricultural difficulties. The Swedes were troublesome. Many children died of disease. Governor Alrichs's wife fell a victim to the fever. It became necessary to appeal for aid from Amsterdam. Governor Stuyvesant wrote a very discouraging letter to the directors in September, describing "the deplorable state of things on the South River, with many colonists running away."¹¹ By the end of the year many of the soldiers had abandoned the forts and departed for Virginia and Maryland. The inhabited colony did not extend more than two miles from the fort.

On the death of Alrichs in 1659 Alexander d'Hinoyossa became governor. He was not popular, being harsh and overbearing. Because of the differences which arose between him and the colonists he was recalled to Holland in 1663. He was soon sent back, however, and remained at the head of the colony until it was taken by the English the following year.

After the fall of New Amsterdam on September 9, 1664, Sir Robert Carr was sent to take the Dutch settlement at New Amstel. The town was promptly surrendered by the civilians, but Governor d'Hinoyossa and the soldiers withdrew to the forts. Two broadsides battered the forts, and the English troops carried the works by storm. The soldiers

¹⁰ Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, I, 629 ff.

¹¹ H. C. Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1908), II, 509 ff.

and many of the citizens were sold into slavery in Virginia, and the grain and cattle were seized. New Amstel was renamed New Castle, and d'Hinoyossa returned again to Holland.¹² Thus came to an end the Dutch attempt at colonization on the Delaware River.

The records are unfortunately very incomplete, there being no full lists of the immigrants or the landowners and no indisputable evidence to prove that there actually were Waldenses on the Delaware.¹³ This lack of contemporary documentary evidence is offset somewhat by the testimony of a Dutch writer of the seventeenth century, Arnoldus Montanus. In 1671 he published in Amsterdam *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, in which he described New Netherlands. He stated that in 1656 the city of Amsterdam shipped over to New Netherlands "seventy families, to which they added 300 Waldenses who had been driven out of Piedmont. Those embarked on the fifteenth of December by beat of drum."¹⁴

The historian finds little contemporary source material concerning those Waldenses said to have chosen to locate on Staten Island instead of continuing to New Amstel, although there is no dearth of assertions by Staten Island, Huguenot, and Waldensian historians that there was a settlement of Waldenses on the island. Some state categorically that there was such a colony; others admit that they are dealing with tradition and not with known facts; none gives references to unimpeachable sources. The most interesting and characteristic of these statements is that of Ira K. Morris, who writes, without, however, definitely locating his source: "At the close of the seventeenth century an effort was made by a London publisher to locate the established churches of various denominations in the American colonies. From the mutilated and faded pages of a publication bearing on Stony Brook we are privileged to quote: 'Ye settlement is located on a brook from which it derives its name. Ye church is small and built of stone, erected when ye village was founded in 1658. Ye preacher discourses in both French and English languages. Native Indians live near ye village on friendly terms with ye Waldenses, when unscrupulous traders do not give them rum. Alongside of ye church is a burying ground, in one corner of which ye Indians also deposit their dead. Ye inhabitants

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 43 ff.; II, 509 ff.

¹³ As is pointed out in a later chapter, A. Stapleton believes that there were many French and Waldensian refugees in those counties of Pennsylvania which now form the state of Delaware. See p. 172.

¹⁴ Amsterdam: Jacob Meurs, 1671, p. 134; E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of New York* (Albany, 1849-51), IV, 131.

number one hundred and a half.'"¹⁵ In addition to this version of the story, Morris prints a small picture of the supposed Waldensian church of Stony Brook. This is obviously a product of the artist's imagination.¹⁶

On Staten Island there are two markers which speak of the alleged Waldensian settlement. In the Borough Hall an inscription reads: "1650. First Church Erected by Waldensians," and upon the supposed site of the church at Stony Brook, lying on South Side Road near Tyson's Lane on the banks of the brook, is a bronze tablet, reading as follows: "In memory of Ira K. Morris, Staten Island historian who claimed that the first Waldensian Church was erected near this spot at Stony Brook in 1658." An old stone foundation can be seen near the marker.¹⁷

Leng and Davis do not accept the legend, and claim that the story of the Waldenses at Stony Brook has grown from a "mingling of fact and fiction, by the admiration of historians possessed of some imagination."¹⁸ They report that a committee of the Staten Island Association of Arts and Sciences, investigating the Waldensian legend in 1915, found "nothing to show that these colonists were Waldenses or that they built a church or founded Stony Brook."¹⁹ They claim that Governor Stuyvesant referred to the settlers at Oude Dorp as "Dutch and French from the Palatinate" and that Brodhead erroneously quoted this as "French Waldenses."²⁰ This error by Brodhead, they believe,

¹⁵ Ira K. Morris, *Memorial History of Staten Island, New York* (New York: Memorial Publishing Co., 1898), I, 40-45.

¹⁶ For other accounts of the alleged settlement see Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots* (9th ed.; London: John Murray, 1905), p. 186; J. J. Clute, *Annals of Staten Island, to the Present Time* (New York: Vogt, 1877), p. 39; William Elliott Griffis, *The Story of the Walloons* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923), p. 77; Gilbert Chinard, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amérique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1925), p. 50; Jalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.; anon., *The Waldensians in Piedmont* (Torre Pellice: Tipografia Alpina, n. d.), p. 24; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), XXI, 338. Griffis reveals doubts concerning the authenticity of his statements when he says: "From 1652 to about 1750 their chief settlement, so tradition avers, was at Stony Brook." Chinard says: "It is *certain* that a rather large number remained in the vicinity of Manhattan Bay and then settled on Staten Island." Jalla tells how Indians attacked the Waldensian church without success. The latest treatment of the subject, that of *The Italians in New York*, a Federal Writers' Project (New York: Random House, 1938), tells the story with reserve: "It is believed by several authorities that some of these Waldensians established a settlement at Stony Brook, Staten Island, where they founded what is said to have been the first church of any denomination on the island" (pp. 82-83).

¹⁷ Letter of the Reverend R. W. Anthony to author, Sept. 27, 1939.

¹⁸ Charles W. Leng and William T. Davis, *Staten Island and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1930), pp. 108 ff.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of Staten Island Association of Arts and Sciences*, VI, VII (Oct., 1915-May, 1918), 135.

²⁰ Leng and Davis, *op. cit.*

is largely responsible for the acceptance by later historians of the story of the Waldenses on Staten Island. They assert that all contemporary documents show that no church existed in 1679, and point out that in 1679 two theological students from Holland, Dankers and Sluyter, walked over Staten Island for three days and reported: "They have neither church nor minister." They believe that the earliest church at Stony Brook was the English Presbyterian church, built about 1717.²¹

It may be said, however, that these eminent scientists, officers of the Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences and editors of its *Proceedings* and its *Museum Bulletins*, are more at home in the natural sciences than in history. Nevertheless, their long studies of Staten Island cemeteries, houses, and families inspire confidence in their findings and theories concerning the early history of the island.

The Reverend John Miller, a chaplain in the British Army, arrived in New York in 1693 to serve the two companies of grenadiers in the fort of New York. In his *Description of the Province and City of New York* he mentions only one church on Staten Island in 1695.²² He lists for Richmond County "a meeting house," whose pastor, "Dr. Bonrepos," had a congregation of forty English, forty-four Dutch, and thirty-six French families.²³ Miller, who remained in New York until June 1, 1695, would doubtless have known of any other church on Staten Island.

Whatever the truth concerning the Waldensian settlement at Stony Brook may be, it is certain that during the seventeenth century Staten Island was influenced by the Waldensian Church, for a former Waldensian pastor, David Jourdan de Bonrepos, became the first resident pastor of the French Church at the Fresh Kills. This independent congregation was organized on Staten Island in 1686 or 1687 by Laurentius van den Boesch, who had been pastor of the French Church of Boston. He left Staten Island for Kingston in 1687. After his departure services were continued by Pierre Daille of the French Reformed Church of Manhattan, who served also the French churches of Hackensack and New Paltz. In 1695 the congregation completed its building, which, if one rejects the existence of the Waldensian church of Stony Brook, was the first church on the island. During this year David de Bonrepos, who had been pastor of the Huguenot

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

²² John Miller, *A Description of the Province and City of New York; with Plans of the City and Several Forts as They Existed in the Year 1695* (New Ed.; New York: William Gowans, 1862), p. 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Church of New Rochelle, was ministering to the Staten Island church, as seen above.

David Jourdan de Bonrepos was the son and grandson of two pastors of the Waldensian Church of Fenestrelle in the Val Perosa. He had been pastor of the church of Châteaudauphin at the foot of Mount Viso in the valley of the Variata. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, De Bonrepos was forced to emigrate. He was in Boston in 1686 and in New Rochelle the following year, where he was pastor until 1693. He went to Staten Island shortly thereafter and remained as active pastor for about twenty years. For some twenty additional years he continued his relationship to some of the members of his flock until his death in 1734. The membership of his church dwindled rapidly, for the English and Dutch, who had made up about two thirds of the church, had begun to withdraw in order to establish their own centers of worship. In 1711 David de Bonrepos married the widow of Thomas Stilwell, and her ample means made his last years comfortable.²⁴ A tablet in the Huguenot Memorial Church, Huguenot Park, Staten Island, reads as follows: "In memory of Reverend David de Bonrepos, pastor of the French Church on Staten Island 1690-1734 and his congregation of French Huguenots, who worshipped in the church at Fresh Kills."

His brother, Elias de Bonrepos, lived in New Rochelle, and was also a man of learning and attainments. In 1705, as the following extract from official records shows, he was licensed to teach school by Viscount Edward Cornbury, Governor of New York, New Jersey, and the territories depending thereon: "To Elias Bon Repose; Greeting. You are hereby impowered and lycen'd to keep school within ye town of New Rochelle in ye county of Westchester and carefully and diligently to instruct ye children under yo' care and tuition in ye art of reading and writing."²⁵

On May 22, 1932, the Huguenot Memorial Association of Staten Island celebrated a Day of Remembrance, at which George Washington and his Huguenot ancestors were honored. The association invited the Waldensian Historical Society to be represented at this ceremony because of the alleged Waldensian colony on Staten Island and of Pastor de Bonrepos's contribution to the religious life of the island. The Waldensian Historical Society named Pastor Pietro Griglio of the First Waldensian Church of New York City as its delegate.²⁶

²⁴ Jalla, *Glanures d'Histoire Vaudoise*, pp. 84 ff.

²⁵ L. J. Fosdick, *The French Blood in America* (2d ed.; New York: Baker and Taylor, 1911), p. 238.

²⁶ Letter from Jean Jalla to Pastor Pietro Griglio, April 12, 1932.

CHAPTER III

MANAKIN-TOWN, VIRGINIA

Four ships loaded with refugees sailed from London for Virginia in 1700, and it is certain that there were some former dwellers of the Waldensian valleys among them. Three facts can be advanced in proof thereof: in the first place, the pastor who was sent at the head of one convoy to be the spiritual leader of the colony was the Reverend Benjamin de Joux, pastor of the church of Fenestrelle in the Val Perosa from 1659 to 1662;¹ in the second place, a document of 1698 refers to the "considerable number of French and Vaudois refugees" for whom land for colonization² in the upper parts of the James River was considered suitable; and in the third place, many of the names of those who came were common in the Waldensian valleys at that time.³

In July, 1698, following a secret treaty between Louis XIV and Victor Amadeus II, all former French subjects then living in the valleys were obliged to cross the frontier within two months on penalty of death. About three thousand, most of whom were from the Val Perosa, again went into exile, arriving in Geneva during September. Thence many of them scattered, some going to Germany and others to Holland and England. In these lands they found many of their co-religionists who had left Italy at the time of earlier persecutions, as well as many French Protestants who had fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes on October 2, 1685.⁴

Preparations to provide permanent homes for these refugees had been on foot in England for a long time: it was first planned to send them to a tract of land along the coast between Virginia and Carolina, but in the document of 1698, referred to above, it was pointed out that the proposed location was "upon no account so fit a place for this small colony" as that above the falls of the James River.

¹ Alberto Clot, "A Waldensian Pastor in Virginia, 1700-1703," *L'Écho des Vallées*, July 10, 1914.

² R. A. Brock, *Documents, Chiefly Unpublished, Relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia, and to the Settlement at Manakin-Town, with an Appendix of Genealogies, Presenting Data of the Fontaine, Maury, Dupuy, Trabue, Marye, Chastain, Cocke, and Other Families* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1886), pp. 5-8.

³ Clot, *op. cit.*, July 10, 1914. Jalla, "Les Etats-Unis et les Vallées Vaudoises," *Gla-nures d'Histoire Vaudoise*, pp. 84-86.

⁴ Clot, *op. cit.*; Brock, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

The expenses of the exiles were usually met by the relief committees, popular subscription, and royal grants. Three thousand pounds sterling was appropriated to pay for "the transportation of 500 Vaudois and French refugees designed for some of His Majesty's plantations."⁵

Arrangements were made with Governor-General Nicholson to receive the colonists, and in April, 1700, under the leadership of the Marquis de la Muce and Monsieur de Saily, the first detachment of about two hundred sailed from London. In this first group were a minister, Philippe de Richebourg, and two physicians, Castaing and La Sosée. This contingent would go at once to the lands assigned the colony, some twenty miles above the falls of the James River, and make preparations to receive subsequent embarkations.⁶ The spot was on the river where ten thousand acres of the territory formerly occupied by the then extinct Manakin tribe of Indians had been granted to the refugees.⁷

"About two months after the first embarquement, there departed a second, bound to the same place, consisting of about 150 refugees, among whom was Monsieur De Joux, sent along with them to exercise his pastorall function as Minister of all ye said Colony, and who for that end was admitted into holy orders by my Lord Bishop of London."⁸ They were on the ship *Peter and Anthony*, under command of Daniel Perreau, who received £775 sterling to convey one hundred and seventy passengers from London to Virginia.⁹ They were in Jamestown on September 20, 1700.

As has been seen above, De Joux had been a pastor in the Waldensian valleys from 1659 to 1662. On October 2, 1659, he had had a dispute with the Jesuit Calamart at Fenestrelle, after which he had published *Le Véritable récit de la Dispute*. He left the valleys, probably soon after concluding his pastorate at Fenestrelle, and was at Die and later at Lyons, where he was pastor of the Reformed Church. He was in London on March 30, 1691, where he had doubtless gone soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His name appears in a declaration of faith of the French ministers who at that date were refugees in England. Another signer of the declaration was his son, J. de Joux, Chaplain in Their Majesties' ship *Northumberland*.¹⁰ Before departing from London, De Joux had been given £38 sterling

⁵ Brock, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff., 54.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰ Brock, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5; Clot, *op. cit.*

out of collections for the refugees, and also "twenty-four pounds for the providing of himself with necessities for the voyage."¹¹

There was great rejoicing when the *Peter and Anthony* arrived in Jamestown, for the immigrants learned of the generosity and graciousness of Governor-General Nicholson, who had cordially received the first convoy and had assigned to the colony "one of the best tracts of land in the whole country." Their rejoicing was tempered, however, when they learned that to this land there was "no passing by water," and that few preparations had been made for their arrival.¹²

The first party had encountered severe difficulties, and, in spite of the supplies and assistance which their leaders had received from the Governor-General and from others in Virginia, "more than one half of the first party lay sick at ye falls, languishing under misery and want." Furthermore, "a great number" of the group had died, and those who had "repaired to their new settlement were in a distressed condition and in great disorder."¹³ De Saily had turned out to be a hardhearted steward, for his followers were already complaining and speaking of him "as of one whose conduct was odious and insupportable."¹⁴

In view of the distress of the first party and the poverty, disability, and ignorance of the customs and affairs of the colony of Virginia, members of the second convoy were permitted by the council held at the College of William and Mary on October 25, 1700, "to disperse themselves into several parts of this country that they may thereby the better provide for the future support of themselves and families until the next fall."¹⁵

It is not known how many of De Joux's party took advantage of this order and sought shelter on the plantations of the English settlers. Several went to Manakin-Town, and soon there was friction between them and De Saily and De la Muce. On December 2, 1700, the latter affirmed: ". . . and for ye other refugees settled by Mr. de Joux between Manycan Creek and Powick Creek, we do not know their condition, and though they have given us great many subjects of complaints in troubling and vexing us, we will charitably spare y'm; and to avoid all disputes and quarrels, desiring to live quietly and peaceably, say nothing of ye tricks and malice they employ every day to blame and accuse us without justice, cause, or reason, and leave to ye said de Joux to give what account he pleases, since he hath done

¹¹ Clot, *op. cit.*

¹² Brock, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

all without us and kept ye other 'factures and goods sent to us."¹⁶ They requested the honorable assembly at the same time to order De Joux "to go up and settle and stay in ye town to preach, make prayers, and perform other duties of his ministry."¹⁷

On the other hand, a petition, signed by thirty-five colonists, was sent to Governor-General Nicholson in which it was stated that on the arrival of the second party they were not kindly received by De Saily and were not allowed to share in the supplies which had been intrusted to him. Furthermore, "he opposed those who desired to take up such tracts of land as were adjacent to the lands he had marked out for those of his first party, unless they would swear an oath of fidelity to such particular persons as he had made Justices of the Peace." The members of the second party refused to take this oath, "being fully persuaded they lay under no obligation so to do."¹⁸ Showing their distrust for De Saily and their confidence in Pastor de Joux, of whose integrity and affection toward them they had "had sufficient trial," they had "hindered" him from turning over to De Saily the goods which had been put into his hands by the shipping company. They requested him "to use his utmost care and diligence in procuring some sustenance for 'em and some lands, which they might labour, sow, and improve in hopes that God's blessing upon their endeavours may give 'em some subsistence for ye future without being burdensome to ye country."¹⁹

De Joux had been able to fulfill the desires of his flock to their complete satisfaction. He had mediated with the magistrates who had ruled the colony during the absence of the Governor-General and had received from them "such supplies as have almost hitherto relieved our necessities." At the same time, with the permission of the Governor-General, De Joux had shared out among his followers the allotted lands.²⁰

After thus having expressed their trust in De Joux the petitioners submitted a list of nine requests, as follows: (1) The Governor-General should continue his "charitable disposition" toward them, and procure food for them until they were "in a capacity to live by the fruits of their own labours." (2) Because there was "no carrying of things by water" all supplies should "be carried and transported gratis to ye hithermost frontiers of their plantations." (3) Inasmuch as there was no prospect of a "good livelyhood" in planting tobacco or of driv-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-59.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

ing "a trade in wings [*sic*], flax, silk and hemp, and other effects of their industry" within a short time, the Governor was asked to seek from His Majesty "some encouragements for their labours," and "for some years at least, a comfortable subsistence for the Ministry among them." (4) The Governor should order De Saily to disburse to the colony the sum of £30 out of the fund of £230 allowed for the building of a church, for the construction of "a house for the Minister and a magazine to lay up fresh goods in" until the time that the colony should be in a condition to build a "decent and convenient church." De Joux should be allowed to choose the place for the building of the church. (5) De Saily, having refused to afford the colonists further relief or sustenance under pretense that he had no more money, was to be ordered to "give an account before such auditors as Your Excellency shall nominate." (6) Any sum which should be found remaining in De Saily's hands should be turned over to the Governor-General "for the supplying of the urgent necessities of the Colony." (7) Since it was impossible to keep the Colony in good order without magistrates, the Governor was requested to allow the settlers to choose a number of judges "out of the number of those whose catalogue shall be presented by Mr. de Joux." When the sum in controversy should exceed three pounds sterling the judgments should be liable to an appeal "to the courts next adjacent to the Manakin Towne." (8) To prevent the dissolution of the Colony, the Governor should order the English to entertain none of the French without permission. Such French as should desert the settlement should restore the five pounds paid for their passage. (9) The physician, La Sosée, should be ordered to return to the Colony and bring back "all ye medecins and instruments that ye Colony had entrusted with him."²¹

Meanwhile the colony had been joined by the members of the third convoy, and on December 1, 1700, De Joux drew up a list of persons, "qui serent [*sic*] toute l'année à Manicanton." There were one hundred and thirty-nine members from the *Peter and Anthony* and only six from the third convoy.²²

It is stated that in the four embarkations there were about five hundred souls,²³ not all of whom, however, settled in Manakin-Town, which was renamed and organized into a parish under the name of King William Parish. Many refugees remained near Jamestown; others

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. viii. The number is stated by other authorities to have been more than seven hundred. Beverly, *History of Virginia* (edition of 1722), p. 244; C. W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, II, 177.

went to Norfolk and Surry counties, or pushed southward to Carolina. The lands granted to the colonists at Manakin-Town were to be exempt from taxation for a period of seven years. The grant was divided into farms, running down to the river in narrow strips. Portions of the best land were set aside for the ministers of the Gospel and so used when one resided in the parish. Afterwards these farms were "rented out, and the proceeds paid for the occasional services as were rendered by neighboring ministers."²⁴

The first winter was very hard in spite of the bounty of Governor-General Nicholson. On February 4, 1700 (1701), De la Muce sent to the Governor a list of refugees which had been drawn up by De Joux and De Richebourg. Two hundred and eighteen persons, including De Joux and Philippe de Richebourg, were eligible "to receive of ye miller of Falling Creek mill one bushel a head of Indian meale monthly."²⁵ But De la Muce was obliged to inform the Governor that "there is no corn" and that he did not "know what to do unless some care be taken to send some corn up." To aggravate the situation, De Saily had become sick and was unable to look after the needs of the settlers.

In the same letter De la Muce replied to the above-mentioned petition of De Joux and his followers. "I wish also," he wrote, "that ye factious and scandalous petition presented by Mr. de Joux be delivered unto me, if you please, or burnt, to pacify all what is past, avoid complaints and disputes, and to procure peace and love."²⁶

If there was any further trouble between De Joux and the leaders of the first convoy, there is no reference to it in the colonial records. The Governor-General and Council found it advisable, however, to recommend on March 10, 1700 (1701), to the military leaders, Lieutenant Colonel William Randolph and Captain Giles Webb, that they make frequent inquiry into the state and condition of the French refugees of Manakin-Town and parts adjacent and that they should always "exhort the aforesaid French refugees to live in unity, peace, and concord."²⁷

The colonists survived the winter, having been supported by gifts from the Governor and by "contributions of several pious and charitable Gentlemen in these parts."²⁸ There are several entries in the official records of money and corn which were turned over to Pastor de Joux.²⁹

²⁴ Brock, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 36.

William Byrd, Receiver-General of Virginia, visited Manakin-Town on May 10 and 11, 1701. He was accompanied by Colonel Randolph, Captain Eppes, and Captain Webb. They found that all the old Manakin fields had been cleared "for near three miles," as well as other ground. Those who had most recently come to the settlement had been more industrious than "they who went thither first." Some seventy huts, "most of them very mean," had been constructed, and all the colonists had planted gardens and corn. They had not, however, in the opinion of their visitors, broken their ground thoroughly nor weeded their gardens. William Byrd summoned most of the colonists and told them that "they must not expect to enjoy the land unless they should endeavour to improve it." De Joux promised to exhort his flock at their next meeting to be more diligent in their farming, so that they might provide their own corn and wheat for the coming year. Of the wheat fields Byrd predicted a fair harvest in spite of the fact that some were overrun with weeds, and that the horses had spoiled others. He reported difficulty in procuring enough corn to feed the two hundred and fifty souls. He had bought all the available food in the two surrounding counties but could not find teamsters to fetch one month's provisions in the Isle of Wight. The official visitors "went up to ye Cole," which had been discovered by one of the refugees "on the great upper creek," about a mile and a half distant from the settlement. This deposit of bituminous coal was later known as the Dover mines. It is alleged that the first coal mined in Virginia was from this source. Notwithstanding the poverty of the colonists, they were found to be "very cheerful" and "very healthy." All that they seemed to desire was enough bread.⁸⁰

Contradicting Byrd's report is a statement found in a letter to the Governor-General from Colonel George Mason, commander of the militia of Stafford County, dated October 28, 1701: "We have no news in these parts, only that ye French refugees is, most of them, gone to Maryland, and have left an ill distemper behind them, ye bloody flux, which has affected some of our neighbours."⁸¹ This statement was doubtless an exaggeration, and the following year the emigrants at Manakin-Town "began an Essay of Wine, which they made of the wild grapes gathered in the woods; the effect of which was a strong-bodied Claret, of good flavour," according to Beverly in his *History and Present State of Virginia* (1705).⁸² The same historian also reported that the new settlers planned to engage in buffalo breeding,

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. ix; Beverly, *op. cit.* (edition of 1722), p. 245.

"for these are much larger than the cattle, and have the benefit of being natural to the climate." He observed that they were making their own clothes and were "resolved, as soon as they have improved that manufacture, to apply themselves to the making of wine and brandy, which they do not doubt to bring to perfection." It seems, however, that they were never able to introduce the manufactures of France to the Virginia frontier, for, in order to keep alive, they had to devote their full time to agriculture.⁸³

De Joux remained as pastor of King William Parish until his death in 1704. The Reverend Claude Philippe de Richebourg, formerly a Catholic, served the parish for several years afterward. The exact date of De Joux's death is not known, but it was prior to August 24, 1704, for on that date a deliberation of the Henrico County Court provided for the administration of his estate. The court required "that John Stewart, Jr. give bond with good security for the administration of the Benjamin de Joux estate." From this ruling one may infer that De Joux died suddenly, without leaving a written will, and that his estate must have been considerable, inasmuch as good security was asked of the administrator.⁸⁴ This meager information is all that remains recorded of this Waldensian pastor whose qualities of leadership won for him the esteem and respect of his followers during the early years of the new colony.

The church of which De Joux was the first minister continued its existence for many years under regular or occasional pastors. The colonial records reveal a noteworthy event during the pastorate of the second minister, Philippe de Richebourg. In 1707 a serious altercation occurred between him and the officers of his church. After the preaching service on March 30, 1707, the pastor remained in the pulpit to conduct the business of the parish. He asked that the register of christenings be delivered to him by the clerk of the vestry, saying, "in a rage very unbecoming the place," that he would excommunicate the clerk if he refused to hand over the document. A disturbance arose; threats were made by some of the pastor's party; and, instead of "endeavouring to appease the tumult," De Richebourg was said to have done "his best to enflame it—and was louder and more outrageous than anybody." Abraham Salle, spokesman for the vestry, was accused by the pastor of having led the revolt. De Richebourg

⁸³ Beverly, *loc. cit.* See M. Charles Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to Our Own Days*, trans. Henry William Herbert (2 vols.; New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1854), II, 322.

⁸⁴ Clot, *op. cit.*

stated that he refused to acknowledge the authority of the vestry. The Governor and Council were asked to settle the dispute, and an adjudication was rendered in favor of the minister. The quarrel was not settled peaceably, however, and the colony became divided.⁸⁵ Some withdrew to the Trent River section of North Carolina, while many others followed De Richebourg to Saint James Santee, South Carolina.⁸⁶

It is not possible to determine how many colonists from the Waldensian valleys were numbered among those who came to the James River. A prominent Waldensian historian, Jean Jalla,⁸⁷ records that on the same ship with De Joux were Salomon Jourdan, Étienne Chabran and wife, Jean Hugon, Jean Martin, Timothée Roux, and Jean Perrachon, "all Waldensians from the Valleys."⁸⁸ The Reverend Professor Alberto Clot, late representative of the Waldensian Church in the United States, believed that the following settlers of Manakin-Town were also from the valleys: Baudris, Clapié, Giraut, Peru, Arnaut, Duraut, Soulié, Morel, Buffe, Musset, Chambon, David, Reynaud, Vigne, Goodin, Flipin, Garnier, Cardon, Barret, Bondurand, and Pasteur.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71.

⁸⁶ Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1928), p. 19.

⁸⁷ Jean Jalla (1868-1935), author of *Les Vaudois des Alpes*, was a professor in the college of Torre Pellice from 1892 to his death.

⁸⁸ Jalla, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁸⁹ Clot, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER IV

COLONIES IN GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA

The Waldensian valleys made their contribution also to the settling and early years of the colonies of Georgia and South Carolina. The establishment of Georgia, the last of the British colonies to be settled in America, was the result of the British government's wish to protect South Carolina from the invasions of the Spanish from Florida and the French from Louisiana and the desire of James Edward Oglethorpe to found a refuge for the persecuted Protestant sects and the indigent but worthy classes of England. It was hoped that the new colony would produce large quantities of wine grapes, hemp, medical plants, and silk, for which England was dependent upon foreign countries. Parliament voted £10,000 sterling for the enterprise. A charter was granted in 1732. Among the early settlers were English, Salzburgers, Piedmontese, Scottish Highlanders, Swiss, Portuguese, and Jews.¹ Oglethorpe sailed for Georgia on November 16, 1732, with a convoy of one hundred and fourteen souls on the ship *Ann*, Captain Thomas.

In this first group was Nicolas Amatis, a native of Piedmont, who had been engaged to instruct the colonists in the art of silk culture. He had been present at the meeting of the Georgia Board on October 19, 1732, and had outlined his proposals for the cultivation of silk in Georgia.² He had been invited to submit the same to a future meeting of the common council of the trust. In the meantime the Georgia Board sought expert counsel concerning the advisability of attempting to raise silk in large quantities in Georgia; it sent a letter to Sir Thomas Lombe, who had set up in Derby the first silk-throwing mill in England, asking for his opinion "of the proper steps to be taken to bring the work to perfection."³

Furthermore, the Board communicated with a brother of Nicolas Amatis who was then in Piedmont, and on January 17, 1733, he, "with five or six others from Piedmont was arrived from Lyons and on the road to England." The Board was convinced that "he was very in-

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), X, 200.

² A. D. Candler, *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1904), III, 379.

³ W. B. Stevens, *History of Georgia* (New York, 1847), I, 268.

telligent in the raising and manufacturing of silk yarn." He had been sent for by his brother, "who is gone with Mr. Oglethorpe to Georgia," and it was planned to "send him thither as soon as he arrives."⁴

On April 3 the Board concluded with Amatis an agreement by which he was to take to Georgia his servant Jacques Camuse with his wife and three sons. Amatis was granted one hundred acres of land and the necessary materials for carrying on his work, as well as a salary of twenty-five pounds a year for four years. He was promised all the profits from his labors, free passage to Georgia, and provisions there for himself and servant for one year. If after five years they desired to return to Europe, their passage would be paid to England or Italy.⁵

They were forwarded in a small embarkation of seventeen persons during April, and they reached Savannah in May.⁶ Work was started soon after their arrival. At first all went well. White mulberry trees, which were preferred because the leaf was early and abundant, were planted in the Trustees' garden. Eggs were hatched, and silk was spun "as fine as any from France or Italy."⁷

The beginnings of the new industry being encouraging, a letter was sent to the Georgia Board in London, "desiring several hundred Piedmontese who understand the making of silk and the planting of vines."⁸ On October 31 the Board ordered that of the Piedmontese Protestants who were then in Rotterdam "and in distress—as many as the ship will hold, more than the Englishmen sent and the Salzburgers expected, to fill up the complement of seventy-five heads, should be taken in."⁹

They were to sail on a boat owned by a well-known shipper, a Mr. Simmons, which left London for Rotterdam to embark a group of Salzburgers. On the same ship was sent a teacher, a Mr. Ortman, and several English "on their own account." The number of the Piedmontese Protestants, who were obviously Waldenses, cannot be definitely ascertained but must have been small. The only other reference to those sent at this time is found in the minutes of the Georgia Board of November 7, 1732, in which is mentioned a recommendation that "several" Piedmontese should be sent to Georgia "at the same time" as the Salzburgers.¹⁰

⁴ Earl of Egmont, *Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards first Earl of Egmont* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), I, 309.

⁵ Stevens, *op. cit.*, I, 268, quoting from *Minutes of Common Council*, I, 43.

⁶ Candler, *op. cit.*, III, 381.

⁷ Stevens, *op. cit.*, I, 268.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Earl of Egmont, *op. cit.*, I, 405.

¹⁰ Candler, *op. cit.*, I, 145.

One month later the Board began a long series of deliberations with a view of sending several more Italian silkgrowers to Georgia. On December 8 a letter was read from His Majesty's resident in Rotterdam, D. Wolters. It contained "a petition of Jean Louis Poyas, Vaudois, to be sent over to Georgia with several others of the Vaudois."¹¹ The petition set forth that two hundred Waldenses in the Canton of Bern wished to go to Georgia and that the canton would defray their expenses to Rotterdam. The Board did not have sufficient funds "to undertake to send over many of the Vaudois," but it suggested that Wolters inform the Waldenses that it was proper that they should "petition His Majesty the King of Great Britain to be sent over to Georgia." Giving further evidence of a desire to secure these Waldenses for the colony, the Board suggested that they should "induce the seignory of Bern to recommend the said petition by their minister residing here."¹² On January 23 of the following year another letter from Poyas in Holland was considered by the Board. The Waldenses requested an "allowance for a minister" who should be sent along to Georgia, but this, the Board decided, it could not afford. Poyas also asked that the Board defray his expenses incurred "in travelling through the different towns to select proper persons among the Vaudois to be carried over and settled in Georgia."¹³ The Board voted to instruct Wolters to give Poyas fifty guilders for his expenses. It also empowered the latter to "engage a number not exceeding forty of the Vaudois who are most fit for the raising and winding of silk and wine dressing." He was requested to send to the Board an account of the age and sex of the Waldenses whom he should select.¹⁴

By the third of March it was found that it would be impossible to carry out immediately the Board's contract to send invited Waldenses and Salzburgers to Georgia because of "the ill management in settling the English now there." The expense of the colony had greatly exceeded expectations. Apparently the settlers would be at the charge of the Board for another year, for they had spent their time building houses and had not cultivated their lands. It was pointed out at a meeting of the Board that the foreigners with whom arrangements had been made "should by prudent means be delayed."¹⁵ A week later a letter was sent to the Waldenses in Rotterdam, discouraging their "coming over to Georgia, for want of money."¹⁶

On April 3 the Board was informed that the Salzburgers had de-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 47.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 53.

¹³ Earl of Egmont, *op. cit.*, II, 42.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 55.

clined to go to Georgia and that the collectors of money for their relief had "agreed to expend the money upon Vaudois who were willing to go." Thereupon the Board resolved to send to Georgia immediately Poyas and his forty Waldenses. At this meeting it became evident that the latter were not entirely satisfied with one of the Board's regulations. This rule prohibited the inheritance by female heirs of lands granted to colonists. The Board approved of a letter to be sent to the French minister in Rotterdam, M. Dumont, wherein it cleared up some of the difficulties relating to the "method of not letting lands descend to heirs female."¹⁷

The Waldenses' refusal to accept this regulation of the Board delayed arrangements for their embarkation. They remained in Holland and by May 17 they were without subsistence and incapable of supporting themselves. On that date the Georgia Board informed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge that it would "be absolutely inconvenient and unsafe to send them before August next."¹⁸ The Board had asked aid of this society "toward the expense of the Vaudois to be sent over." It learned on May 22, 1734, that the request had been declined.¹⁹

At a meeting of the Board held on that day Poyas presented himself. He declared that "he had chosen out forty proper persons out of the number in Holland who understood the silk trade as well as vines and agriculture," but that they were unwilling to go "unless their wives and daughters may succeed to their grants as well as their sons." Some members of the Board were willing to yield this point, stating that even though "the Vaudois seemed peremptory on this head—it would be a great pity to lose the sending of such a number of useful and experienced hands in the silk trade." Others held that it would be dangerous to yield, for such an action would cause "a mutiny among the English and Salzburgers who had accepted grants on a different tenure."²⁰

The Board required several weeks to come to a decision. Meanwhile it announced on May 29 "that the poor people who are still in Rotterdam in great want should have an allowance of eight pounds" a week until an answer could be given Poyas. This subsidy was not to be taken from the Board's cash but out of a fund of £50 promised by Lord Tullamore for that and other purposes. Several gentlemen at this meeting were violently opposed to allowing female heirs to inherit grants. A Mr. Towers remarked that "it was strange that the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1734.

¹⁹ Earl of Egmont, *op. cit.*, May 22, 1734.

¹⁸ Candler, *op. cit.*, I, 171.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 106.

Vaudois who had been banished naked out of their country for religion should scruple to take lands in Georgia on the same foot as the English and Salzburger have done." Towers hastily drew up a set of compromise stipulations which were to be submitted to Poyas for his opinion as to whether they would satisfy his people.²¹

On June 7 the Board decided that it could not accept the conditions demanded by the Waldenses and, accordingly, rejected their application to go to Georgia. Out of charity it voted "a complete month's subsistence at nine pounds a week" and paid the travel expenses of Poyas. He was "civilly dismissed" after being informed that he had been summoned to London "on supposition that he would agree to the present tenure of lands in Georgia." The Board was unanimous in its decision. One member, a Mr. Bedford, "gave a good character of those Vaudois out of the Book of Revelation and wished that something could be done for them."²²

On June 26 Oglethorpe appeared before the Board in behalf of Poyas, who was still in London and was desirous of a further gratuity for the trouble he had taken in collecting the prospective colonists. The Board rejected this petition with the following resolution: "It appears to the Board that the said Mr. Poyas has received a sufficient recompense and that the Trustees will have nothing more to say to him."²³

Although no further reference to the sending of other Waldenses to Georgia appears in the colonial records, it is altogether probable that several joined those who had gone in 1733. There was in Savannah in 1737 a group to whom the Reverend John Wesley read prayers in Italian on at least one occasion.²⁴

Further evidence of additional Waldenses in Georgia is found in a memorial presented in 1763 to the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council from the Reverend Jean Louis Gibert, relating to his proposal to settle a colony of Huguenots in South Carolina. In this paper Gibert urged that the King should accept certain conditions in forwarding the colonists to South Carolina in order to prevent "all the unfortunate inconveniences to which the colony of Purrysburg and the Waldensian colonies in Georgia have been exposed, which have brought about the almost complete ruin of these two new-born establishments."²⁵

Those to whom Gibert referred were probably the Waldenses who

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 104.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 106.

²³ Candler, *op. cit.*, I, 69.

²⁴ *The Journal of John Wesley, A.M.* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1906), I, 59.

²⁵ *Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina* (1858), II, 75 f.

were expected to sail on Mr. Simmons's ship from Rotterdam late in 1733. It is not impossible that they were joined by others from Holland, who may have come singly or with Poyas. His dismissal by the Georgia Board did not terminate his hopes of coming to America, for shortly thereafter a John Louis Poyas was engaged in the silk industry of South Carolina. There is little doubt that he is the same, even though he was considered a Frenchman and not a Waldensian in that state.²⁶

In 1738 the provincial government of South Carolina moved to make the silk industry a public enterprise. A commission was appointed, which, after careful inquiry, recommended that Poyas should be employed for a period of seven years at the rate of £100, cash salary, that six Negroes should be purchased at once, and that the Poyas family and the Negroes should be maintained the first year at public expense. He was finally employed for a period of seven years at the above-mentioned salary for the first three years, and the living expenses of himself and family. After the third year he was to receive all profits from the industry in lieu of salary. A training school was established, and apprentices to the number of ten were maintained at public expense and taught the art. No record of the success or failure of the venture is available. In 1741 Poyas advertised a bid for silkworms at £4 a bushel, and the following year he advertised for four thousand bushels of worms.²⁷

Returning now to the Piedmontese silkgrowers Amatis and Camuse, we find that trouble arose soon after the inauguration of silk culture in Georgia. The industry was for a time suspended because of the treachery of those who had been employed. They broke the machinery, destroyed the trees, spoiled the seed, and fled to South Carolina. The Board continued to believe in the plan, however, and required of each settler that he should have ten mulberry trees to each acre. Amatis having left, the industry was intrusted to Mr. and Mrs. Camuse. They were in charge of the work for six years, at a yearly salary for the first two years of £60, and the remaining four at £100.²⁸

In June, 1734, Oglethorpe returned to England with eight pounds of raw silk which had been raised in the province. A small trunk of silk was forwarded to him the next year. It was made into organzine by the machine of Sir Thomas Lombe, who declared that it had "proved exceedingly good through all the operations." It was shown to Her Majesty Queen Caroline, who chose a portion of it to be woven

²⁶ Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Stevens, *op. cit.*, I, 268 ff.

into a pattern. When the fabric was completed, she expressed a "great satisfaction for the beauty and fineness of the silk, the richness of the pattern, and at seeing so early a product from the colony."²⁹ To express her pleasure, she ordered a complete court dress to be made from it, and on His Majesty's next birthday she appeared in a robe of Georgia silk. In 1737 she again wore a gown of Georgia silk, which she declared to be the finest she had ever seen. The Earl of Egmont, one of the members of the Georgia Board, informed her that they "had debauched two Italians, Piedmontese, away and sent them to Georgia to cultivate the silk."³⁰

On his return to Georgia in 1735 Oglethorpe renewed his efforts to encourage the industry. He ordered the Italian women to instruct a number of the colonists in the art. The Salzburgers at Ebenezer were interested in the project, and Mrs. Camuse trained two of the women from that settlement in the art of reeling. Mrs. Camuse, however, seems to have been unwilling to give full information to the two women, and they were soon withdrawn from her charge. The Camuse family left the colony and settled in Purrysburg, South Carolina. Later a filature was erected in Savannah, and Mrs. Camuse, with her son and daughter, returned and were employed there at three shillings a day. It is said that Camuse gave the commissioners no little trouble by his perverse conduct.³¹

The making of silk in Georgia was continued until the War of the Revolution, during which the industry, which had been slowly dying out, ceased completely.³²

Reference has been made to the presence of the Camuse family in the colony of Purrysburg, located on the Savannah River in South Carolina.³³ Jean Pierre Purry, of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, formerly Director General of the French East India Company, began in 1724 his first attempt to bring six hundred French and Swiss Protestant refugees to Carolina. The British government made a contract with him the following year, whereby he was to transport twelve hundred persons from England to Carolina. For this purpose he was granted twenty-four thousand acres of land in the province. A large group of prospective emigrants assembled in Neuchâtel. Troubles arose, and only forty of the party left for England. Of these, only twenty-six finally arrived in Charleston in December, 1726. In spite of the poor success

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Earl of Egmont, *op. cit.*, II, April 14, 1737.

³¹ Stevens, *loc. cit.*

³² Amanda Johnson, *Georgia as Colony and State* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown, 1938), p. 158.

³³ Stevens, *loc. cit.*

of his first attempt, Purry did not abandon his plan. He visited Carolina in 1730 and took back to England glowing accounts of the possibilities for colonization. He made a second agreement with the government, by the terms of which he promised to transport six hundred emigrants to Carolina in return for twelve thousand acres of land.⁸⁴ The following year one hundred and fifty-two colonists arrived in three embarkations.⁸⁵ In 1732 the town of Purrysburg was laid out. It contained four hundred acres on the river. In addition, four hundred acres were set aside for a church, a cemetery, a common, and a glebe.⁸⁶ Early in November, 1734, Colonel Purry arrived at Purrysburg from England with a party of two hundred and sixty Swiss Protestants and their minister, a Mr. Chiffelle, on the ship *Simmon*. The *South Carolina Gazette* of November 16, 1734, stated that "one hundred and odd more are expected there every day, who were ready to embark at the beginning of October last. Among them are forty persons of the persecuted Protestants in Piedmont, and a collect has been made for them in England, where we hear that James Oglethorpe, Esq. has subscribed forty pounds sterling."⁸⁷

In April of the following year the *Gazette* reported the arrival of two hundred Swiss at Purrysburg. They had been given an allowance of £1,200 from the purse of George II.⁸⁸ The immigrants began their labors with great zeal, stimulated with the idea of possessing large landed estates. In 1735 Purrysburg contained nearly one hundred dwellings, and this was probably the season of its greatest prosperity.⁸⁹ In a short time, however, "they felt the many inconveniences attending a change of climate. Several of them sickened and died; the others found all the hardships of the first state of colonization falling heavily upon them."⁴⁰ They became dissatisfied with the provisions allowed them, and complained to the government of the persons who distributed them. They felt that they had been deceived by Colonel Purry: they "heartily repented their leaving their native country."⁴¹

Colonel Purry died about 1738-1739, leaving a considerable estate in money and land.⁴² It was not long before many of the colonists left the locality, the town of Purrysburg disappearing completely.

⁸⁴ Hirsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-33.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ See *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, X, 187-219.

⁸⁸ Edward McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), p. 126.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Alexander Hewat, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (London, 1779), II, 26-27.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Although it has been stated that the Protestants from Piedmont, reported by the *South Carolina Gazette*, did reach Purrysburg,⁴³ there seems to be no definite proof of their arrival. The names of those who came in 1734 are not preserved, but the names of those who arrived in December, 1732, as well as the age of each, are found in the manuscripts of the Historical Commission of South Carolina.⁴⁴ The "persecuted Protestants in Piedmont," mentioned by the *Gazette*, are believed to have been Waldenses, although Hirsch declares that they were "persecuted and poverty stricken refugees who had temporarily settled in the Piedmont."⁴⁵

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴⁴ MS Commissions and Instructions, 1732-42, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See McCrady, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

CHAPTER V

MORMONS AND THE WALDENSES

On October 19, 1849, Apostle, later President, Lorenzo Snow, and Elder Toronto, formerly Brigham Young's herdsman and a native of Cagliari, Sardinia, left Salt Lake City, Utah, by team, as missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, bound for Italy.¹ They sailed for Liverpool from New York on March 25, 1850. In England they were joined by Elder Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, with whom they left Southampton for Le Havre on June 16, 1850, arriving in Genoa June 23, 1850. On July 1, 1850, Elders Toronto and Stenhouse departed for the Waldensian valleys, which was the only region open to their missionary efforts. Apostle Snow went to Torre Pellice, finding that the Val Luserna bore "a striking resemblance to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake."

Soon after his arrival in the valleys Apostle Snow found it necessary to publish a treatise in French on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. His treatise was entitled *The Voice of Jacob*, "a brief account of the rise, progress, and persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with their present position and future prospects in Utah," and was sent to England for translation.

Elder Jabez Woodard, of London, joined the three missionaries on September 18, 1850. The next day they ascended a bold projecting rock, Monte Vandalino, a little northwest of Torre Pellice, which they named "Mount Brigham." Standing on a rock which they called "The Rock of Prophecy," they organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Italy with Lorenzo Snow as president. Their first convert, Jean Antoine Bose, of Torre Pellice, was baptized October 27, 1850, by Apostle Snow in the Angrogna River.² On November 24, 1850, Jabez Woodard was ordained a high priest and named to preside

¹ D. B. Richards, *The Scriptural Allegory in Three Parts* (Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing Co., 1931). My account of the missions to the Waldensian valleys is based largely on this work. Much of the data can be found also in E. R. S. Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1884), pp. 107-236.

² See Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Co., 1913), p. 1313.

over the Church in Italy. Elder Stenhouse left for Switzerland, where he had been appointed to organize a mission.

In January, 1851, Jean Antoine Bose, who was later excommunicated for negligence, was ordained an elder at Angrogna. This first native to be ordained to preach "was one who swayed no extensive influence, and boasted no great natural abilities; but he sought the Lord with fasting and prayer, and the Spirit rested on him mightily, showing him in the dreams of night the glorious reality of the work with which he had become associated." In February several converts were baptized: on February 24 Elder Woodard baptized two young men, one of whom was J. D. Malan, Jr., and on the following day he baptized ten persons of Angrogna, all members of the Malan family. Elder Woodard ordained Jean Daniel Malan, "a firm believer in *The Voice of Jacob*," an elder. On May 9, 1851, Elder Woodard wrote Lorenzo Snow, then in England, that there were twenty-one members, exclusive of nonresidents, and that an elder had been sent to baptize in Pinerolo.

A second edition of Snow's *The Voice of Jacob* was printed in the autumn of 1851; two tracts, *The Only Way to Be Saved* and *The Ancient Gospel Restored*, were in circulation; and other works, including the *Book of Mormon*, were being translated.

Early in 1852 Elder Woodard was sent to open a mission in Nice, and Elder Malan was appointed temporary president of the Italian branch. The *Book of Mormon* had been printed in Italian, and by August 15, the Church, still in "its infantile state," had some thirty members. In September, Elder Woodard was ordered by the police to leave the country for having given theological instruction without being designated as an "ecclesiastic" on the face of his passport, but by January of the following year he was again in the valleys. He found that "the Italian saints are increasing in numbers, knowledge, and blessings, although surrounded with continual opposition, such as loss of employment, children expelled from school, etc."

A few additional converts were baptized in May and June, 1853. In June, Elder Thomas Margets, who had been laboring for some months in Italy, was compelled to return to England, being replaced by Elder George D. Keaton from England. The latter soon baptized eight converts and reported that many were investigating the work.

In September, 1853, a branch, consisting of eighteen members, was organized at Angrogna. Enemies were numerous and vigilant. Elder Woodard was attacked on several occasions, having narrow escapes. By November 13, at which time a conference was held in

Pinerolo, the Church had sixty-one members. According to *The Scriptural Allegory*, the first emigrant, Priest J. D. Malan, Jr., was sent to Utah on December 10, 1853.

Jabez Woodard received a release as missionary to Italy and by January 8, 1854, he was in London, bound for the land of Zion, having left the work in charge of Elder Stenhouse. The latter soon left the field and on February 22, 1854, arrived in Liverpool, accompanied "by a goodly number of Swiss and Italian saints who are on their way to the Great Salt Lake Valley." By March 6 the saints from Italy and Switzerland were on board the *John M. Wood*. The official records do not give the names of the Waldenses in this party, but it is probable that the following, listed as having been sent from Italy on February 7 by the Perpetual Emigration Fund, made up this first group to be emigrated: Elder John Bertoch of San Germano, with his three sons Daniel, James, and John, Jr.; Elder Philippe Cardon of Prarostino, with his wife, four sons John, Louis Philip, Paul, and Thomas, and two daughters Madeleine and Catherine; and Elder Bartholomew Pons of Angrogna, with his wife, son David, and daughters Lydia and Marie.

The Perpetual Emigration Fund Company had been organized in Salt Lake City in 1849 for the purpose of aiding the poor to remove from Europe and the United States to Utah. In the forty years of its existence it assisted approximately fifty thousand people. The fund was raised on the principle of perpetual succession. The sums lent were usually refunded as soon as possible and lent to other converts.³

On May 7, 1854, a branch of nineteen members was formed at San Germano in the Val San Martino. Of the saints in this section Elder Keaton wrote: "They are very poor in relation to this world's goods, but they are truly rich in spirit."⁴

During the same year a third branch, that of St. Bartholomew, was inaugurated. At a meeting of the General Council, held in Geneva on October 1, Elder Keaton reported: "In the Valleys, where the saints are, prospects are good. The saints are good and faithful—the most obedient I have ever seen. They are very poor. We have been unsuccessful in endeavoring to introduce the Gospel into the towns of the Plains."

In October, 1854, Elder Francis came to assume charge of the Italian work. He was assisted by Elder J. J. Ruban. Francis wrote that there were about seventy members and that about one hundred

³ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1889), pp. 415 f.

⁴ *The Scriptural Allegory* is the source of this and most of the following paragraphs.

had been baptized, several of whom had been emigrated or excommunicated.

Early in 1855 the Mormon activities were expanded into several hamlets and villages; many converts were sent to America. The official records state that on February 27, 1855, Priest John James Bonnet, of Angrogna, was sent to Utah, and on March 7 the Elder J. Daniel Malan family, of Angrogna, was forwarded by the Perpetual Emigration Fund. In this family were Jean Daniel Malan, his wife Pauline, and six children. On March 31 a group of three, David Roman, Anthony Gaydou, and Dominic Brodero, who had been baptized in Liverpool by Elder Malan, was emigrated.

One may assume that these converts proceeded to America in one party. The Malan family is known to have sailed on the ship *Juventa* from Liverpool to Philadelphia. There were five hundred and seventy-three immigrants on board in charge of William Glover. The ship arrived in Philadelphia on May 5, whence the party continued by train to Pittsburgh. There boats carried them down the Ohio and up the Missouri River to Atchison, Kansas, where companies were organized for the journey to the Great Salt Lake. Before leaving, the converts camped for several weeks at Mormon Grove, five miles from Atchison. Many were stricken with cholera and about half of them are said to have died. They left Mormon Grove on July 25 and reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake on October 28, after experiencing much trouble from the Indians. Priest Bonnet is recorded as having reached Utah on October 26 in the Milo Andrus Company.⁵

On November 2, 1855, Suzanne Gaudin, Peter Stalle, his wife Marie and three children, and Marie Gardiol, all of Prarostino; Peter Chate-lain, Henriette Chatelain, of San Germano; Peter Lazald, of Pinache; Priest Michel Beux, his wife Marie, and seven children, of Pramollo; and Michel and Suzanne Rochon and one daughter, from near Pinache, were sent to Utah. Some of these, if not all, crossed the plains in the first handcart companies.

Before 1855 most of the European converts had been sent to America in large sailing vessels out of Liverpool. Some of these ships carried as many as one thousand passengers. The center of each ship was reserved for married couples and their children. The single men were placed in the bow and the single women in the stern. Many vessels sailed for New Orleans, whence the immigrants were forwarded by river steamers to St. Louis or Council Bluffs. From these points caravans of several hundred wagons set out for Utah. They

⁵ Esshom, *op. cit.*, p. 762.

were usually organized into companies of one hundred wagons, which were divided into smaller units of ten wagons, each with its own captain. (Before leaving for missionary work in Italy, Lorenzo Snow had captained one of these "hundreds.") For each group of ten souls one wagon, two milch cows, and one tent were provided. The average day's journey did not exceed thirteen miles.⁶

The usual charge for transportation from Europe to Utah was sixty dollars. Many of the converts who desired to emigrate were unable to pay this required sum. Accordingly, a cheaper means of transportation for the land portion was devised. Sixty-pound carts were built for their use in Iowa City. These vehicles were equipped with shafts five feet long with crosspieces, one of which served as a handle. The converts put their baggage in these carts and walked the entire distance, drawing the small wagons loaded with one hundred pounds of freight. Ox-drawn wagons were provided only for extra provisions, tents, and those who were unable to walk. The expeditions were divided into hundreds, each unit having twenty carts, five tents, three or four milch cows, and a wagon drawn by three or four oxen.⁷ At least three of the above-mentioned families are known to have walked from Iowa City to Utah.

Many ships sailed from Liverpool to American ports during the early months of the following year. In March the *Enoch Train* sailed for Boston with five hundred and thirty-four saints. The *Samuel Curling* sailed in April for the same port with seven hundred and seven converts, followed by the *Horizon* in May with eight hundred and fifty-eight saints under Edward Martin. From Boston the converts were sent by train to Iowa City. Two companies left headquarters for Utah in early June. Captain Edmund Ellsworth's handcart company left Iowa City on June 9 and arrived in Salt Lake City on September 26. In this company were the Michel Beux family and Suzanne Gaudin.⁸ Edward Martin set out with his company some weeks later. In this company was Peter Louis Chatelain. Probably Henriette Chatelain and other saints from the valleys were also in this party.

When the company passed Florence, Nebraska, on August 25 it consisted of 576 persons, 146 handcarts, and 7 wagons. Unusually early snows detained the caravan, and in October relief parties were sent to rescue the company. Many had died from the cold and starvation. The handcarts had to be gradually abandoned as the

⁶ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-438.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 418 f.

⁸ Esshom, *op. cit.*, p. 753. Richards, *op. cit.*

relief teams from the valleys of the Great Salt Lake met them.⁹ The survivors arrived in Salt Lake City on November 30 "after extreme suffering" and the loss of nearly two hundred and fifty souls. Captain James Willie's handcart company, in which there may also have been converts from the valleys, had arrived on November 9, having endured hardships and the loss of sixty-six persons.¹⁰

In Italy it was becoming plainly evident that much of the success of the mission was due to the fact that the Waldenses were eager to be sent to America. Elder Francis wrote that the Protestant ministers of the valleys, thinking that the elders were offering the Italian citizens free transportation to Utah as an inducement to join the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, had commenced to emigrate them to Algiers. These pastors had offered several families free carriage to Africa if they would leave the Mormon Church. Nine of this kind of saints, six of whom were excommunicated, the others being considered in a state of apostacy, had become known to the elders. One told Elder Francis that, if he thought the Church would not emigrate him to Utah, he would never come to a meeting again.

Living conditions in the Waldensian valleys were at this time unusually difficult, on account of the grapevine disease, the potato rot, and the doubling of the price of wheat as a result of the building of a railway line from Genoa to Turin and Pinerolo, which transported the wheat of the Piedmont region to Genoa for shipment to England. The Mormon converts were refused charity by the Waldensian ministers unless they would renounce their new affiliation. Some of the saints fell "among these circumstances," and others were having "a great struggle." By August 25, 1855, seven saints had been cut off, having "been bought with bread and *polenta* by the Protestant ministers."

The missionary efforts had been greatly hampered by the departure of Elder Malan for Zion, for it had been in his house that most of the meetings had been held. No other suitable building was available. During the following months, however, the work seems to have flourished. On June 16, 1856, Elder Francis wrote that twenty new members had been added and that one who had been excommunicated had been rebaptized. As a result of President Richards's visit to the valleys many of the saints had become interested in the study of the English language.

Elder Francis left the valleys on July 2, 1856, for Turin, leaving the

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1316.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-428.

mission in charge of Elder Ruban. In Turin he labored for a year without success. He was advised to return among the Waldenses in December, 1857. He found that the work had been without leadership since the departure of Elder Ruban during the previous September.

The people were in want, and the number of saints was continually becoming smaller. Some had returned to the Waldensian Church, "in quest of the Biblical loaves and fishes," while others had asked to be dismissed because they had not been forwarded to Utah. Those who had remained faithful prayed "for their deliverance" and often declared that they would be willing "to walk all the way to Liverpool (except across the Channel) if the servants of the Lord could furnish them the means to cross the ocean to go to Zion."

On February 13, 1857, Elder Francis, who had labored for nearly two and a half years among the Waldenses and who now felt that "neither the people nor their pastors were any longer worthy of their faithful ancestors," left the valleys for new duties in Geneva. He reported to the General Council that the Italian conference was in good condition, that the saints were few in number and very poor as regards the things of the world, but united, faithful, and obedient. The work was now in charge of Elder Jacob Rivoir. The saints were awaiting with high expectations Elder J. D. Malan's return from Utah.

But little progress was made, and early in 1861 Elder Rivoir announced that the work had been at a standstill for a long time. In 1863 only thirteen saints were left in Italy, three of whom were about to emigrate. The other ten, "very poor," were "anxious to gather to Zion." By 1867 the Italian branch had been reduced to one family of six, that of Elder Justet. Thus the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints gradually died out in the Waldensian valleys, ceasing to exist in fact about 1867, though still surviving for some time in name.

During the seventeen years of activity among the Waldenses the Mormon Church, according to its not entirely accurate official records, made over one hundred and eighty converts, of whom seventy-four were later excommunicated for apostacy, negligence, "fear of the world," and other causes. Twenty-seven infants, some of whom accompanied their parents to Utah, were blessed. Twenty-eight Waldensian converts were appointed officers. Fifty-nine emigrants are listed, to which number must be added several young children.

Except for brief missionary visits by Elder J. D. Malan in 1857 and by High Priest James Bertoch in 1891-1893 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was inactive in the Waldensian valleys until the end of the nineteenth century. In the winter of 1900 Dr.

Daniel B. Richards was appointed to go to Italy, to attempt to reopen the Italian mission and to establish a branch of the Church there. He went to Turin, where he met another missionary, Elder Paul Cardon, who had come from Utah to labor with Elder Richards and to look up his family genealogy.

Elder Cardon started his work in the valleys on April 28 and he was joined by Elder Richards on May 31. The latter had traveled widely in Italy and had contemplated uniting with the Protestant pastors of Turin, who were holding meetings at which they expounded the Gospel according to the tenets of their several denominations. Apparently he was not given encouragement and he decided that his efforts would be more fruitful if he united with Elder Cardon.

Together they visited several families in the valleys and attended services of the Waldensian Church. They met an old woman who had been baptized into the Mormon Church over forty years before and who had been suppressing the fact that she had been a convert. Her faith was "feeble and well-withered." They distributed a considerable number of tracts, but their labors seem to have been wholly ineffective. They could only report the distribution of thirty-eight tracts, the lending of one book, and the holding of nine evangelical conversations. They found no "truth seekers" and on June 26, 1900, they departed for Switzerland, returning to Utah late in the year.

The Mormon converts from the Waldensian valleys of the 1850 period entered at once into the pioneer life of the new territory and assumed positions of responsibility. They were assigned lands, mostly in the neighborhood of present-day Ogden and Logan, where they erected log houses, cleared, ploughed, planted, and irrigated their fields. When, in 1857, the forces under command of Albert Sidney Johnston were sent against the Mormons, Waldensian immigrants served in the Utah militia which guarded the head of Echo Canyon to ward off the United States troops.

They served also in defending the new communities against Indian raids. Especially prominent were the Cardons, who had arrived with the Robert Campbell company in 1854 and who had first settled in Weber County. Paul Cardon was engaged with the Utah militia. His family took part in the "move South" of May, 1858, in face of the approaching United States troops, returning to Weber County a few months later after the difficulties between the United States and Utah had been adjusted. The following year Paul Cardon and his brother Philip went to Logan, which then contained but a few families. Paul assisted in erecting the first log house in Logan and was actively

engaged as a minuteman in defending the pioneers of Cache Valley against the Indians. He was commissioned a first lieutenant of cavalry, was the first city treasurer and first policeman of Logan, and was prominently identified with the religious affairs of the Church. He served as President of the 64th Quorum of Seventies.

The former Waldenses adopted the practices of the Mormons, including that of polygamy. For example, Paul Cardon married Suzanne Gaudin and Madeleine Beus; from the first union eleven children and from the second nine children were born. Daniel Ber-toch, who reached Utah on October 28, 1854, in the Robert Campbell company and who was named President of the 35th Quorum of Sev-enties, married Elva Hampton and Sara Ann Richards, by whom he had respectively four and six children. Peter Chatelain married Madeleine Malan in Italy and Alice Johns in Utah, to whom were born four and one children respectively. As will be seen in "A Brief Historical Sketch of the Malan Pioneers of Utah," the Malan twins were married at a double wedding to Isaac R. Farley. As far as can be learned, none of those who came from the Waldensian valleys in the 1850's nor their descendants have severed their connection with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹¹

Interesting data concerning one of the early pioneers, John Daniel Malan, are found in an unsigned manuscript, written by one of his descendants.¹² Of him and his contributions to the Mormon effort of conversion and emigration it is said: "Being a good marksman with a rifle, John Daniel Malan was assigned to scout and obtain wild game for meat. The hardships and privations of the company are nar-rated elsewhere,¹³ suffice it to say that they were hazardous, testing the very extreme faith of all those in the companies. . . . In 1857 he went on a mission to Italy and walked back over the plains. Completing a successful mission, he returned and again joined a handcart com-pany to Utah, making in all three trips by foot across the plains. John Daniel Malan was a pioneer colonizer, filled with the virtues of truth, and was a wizard of arts. He was the first to bud and graft fruit trees here. He manufactured shovels, rakes, brooms, and other im-plements from oak and birch and scrap iron. He cleared land and provided employment for those who were unable to provide for them-

¹¹ Letter from President Joseph E. Cardon to author, Oct. 30, 1939. See Esshom, *op. cit.*

¹² This manuscript is included in the folder which contains "A Brief Historical Sketch of the Malan Pioneers of Utah" and was loaned by Mrs. Inez Malan Long, of Ogden. See Appendix, pp. 225-227.

¹³ In "A Brief Historical Sketch, etc."

selves. He was a firm believer in law and order, and had a keen sense of humor."

Thanks to their thrift and their industry, they have prospered abundantly. The majority of this stock is engaged in agriculture. Several have held high posts in the Church. Paul Cardon's son, Joseph E. Cardon, a prominent merchant and manufacturer of Logan, has served as missionary, high priest, President of Seventies, and bishop. He is at present President of Cache Stake Presidency. Professor James L. Barker, Dean of Languages of the University of Utah and the author of many scholarly articles on phonetics, is of Waldensian stock, the son of Margaret Stalle, who came to Utah as a child of five in 1856.¹⁴ Photographs of several of the Waldensian pioneers and their descendants are to be found in Frank Esshom's *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century another Waldensian influx to Utah began. The first of whom there is a record was Joseph Combe, of San Germano, who became interested in Utah through a relative, a convert of the 1850's. He came in 1882 and was joined two years later by his family and a relative, Catherine Combe, of Pramollo, who later married Paul Beus. There was much interest in Utah on the part of the Waldenses in the 1890's. As is shown in the Appendix,¹⁵ some forty Waldensian families have settled in Utah either permanently or temporarily. Many are living in and near Ogden and Provo. Most of them are prosperous farmers, fruit growers, and cattle raisers. The latecomers have usually united with the Presbyterian Church. The Avondets of Ogden have joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The wife and children of Lévi Long, of Ogden, are Mormons, she being Inez, nee Malan, the daughter of pioneer converts.

The Waldenses in Utah have no organization. The Waldensian Church of Italy, however, has not entirely forgotten her distant children, and on one occasion sent an official representative to visit them. In 1913 Professor David Bosio, of Rome, spent several days in Utah, meeting the people and preaching in the Ogden Presbyterian Church.¹⁶

¹⁴ Letter from Assistant Church Historian, A. W. Lund, to author, March 19, 1941.

¹⁵ See pp. 227-232, below.

¹⁶ Letter of Professor Bosio to author, Oct. 30, 1939.

CHAPTER VI

SOUTH AMERICAN COLONIES

The Waldensian migrations to the New World during the nineteenth century were the result, not of religious persecution, but of economic conditions. The narrow Waldensian valleys had become overcrowded; by 1844 more than one thousand out of a total Waldensian population of 22,458 had left Italy in search of work abroad. Of these the majority had gone to cities in southern France.

Since these unorganized migrations had not materially improved living conditions in the valleys, several projects for group removals were considered. In 1841 a gentleman who owned large holdings near Montreal, Canada, proposed that a Waldensian colony be established there, but, inasmuch as he wished only to lease his lands, the offer was not accepted. In 1845 the French government sought to settle a Protestant colony in Algeria. The matter was laid before the Venerable Table of the Waldensian Church, which brought it to the attention of the pastors. In 1847 an American wished to locate a colony of more than one thousand persons on his estate in Virginia. None of these schemes was ever carried out.¹

With the granting of civic and religious liberty to the Waldenses in 1848, the restrictions which had previously bound them were lifted. They were now allowed to own lands beyond the confines of the valleys. Some took advantage of this privilege, but most were unable to do so because of lack of funds. Economic conditions were becoming increasingly difficult. The crops had been bad for several years; by 1854 not less than 3,003 families were in need of help, which was sought from abroad. During that year conditions became even more critical because of a scanty potato harvest and a complete failure of the vineyards.²

Under these circumstances, emigration, which had long been considered, became a necessity. The Venerable Table discussed several possible locations: Sardinia, Algeria, the United States, Australia, and

¹ Luis Jourdan, *Compendio de Historia de los Valdenses* (Colonia Valdense, 1901), pp. 189-198.

² N. Tourn, *I Valdesi in America* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1906), p. 6.

Argentina.³ Among the proposals which were submitted, that of the government of Santa Fé of the Argentine Confederation seemed to be the most advantageous. This state had an agent in Europe for the encouragement of immigration who was authorized to lend to migrating families the money for the expenses of the voyage and the purchase of animals, food, seed, and dwellings to a total value of one thousand lire.⁴

On February 15, 1856, at an assembly held in Torre Pellice, under the presidency of the local pastor, Bartolomeo Malan, the matter of sending colonists to South America was discussed. The moderator of the Waldensian Church, Jean Pierre Revel, was opposed, but the pastor of the church of Rorà, Michel Morel, spoke eloquently in favor of accepting the conditions of the government of Santa Fé. It was decided that emigration was a necessity but that further information should be sought.

A second conference was held on March 19, with Revel and Morel again supporting their earlier opinions. A committee was formed to offer information to those who wished to migrate and to concern itself with the whole matter. Action was delayed, however, and a third meeting was held in Pinerolo on November 20, at which those who were on the point of selling their farms preparatory to sailing for Argentina were advised to await an opportunity more favorable than the one then under consideration.⁵

It was not long before an outlet for the surplus population of the valleys was found in a country to which no thought had previously been given. In 1852 a youth by the name of Jean Pierre Planchon sailed from Marseilles on a sailing vessel, which, after a long and dangerous journey, touched at Montevideo, Uruguay. Here he left the ship and found employment in a confectioner's shop. Finding conditions in Uruguay to his liking, he wrote to his brother in Villar Pellice, urging him to join him. Two families in that village were ready to try their fortunes in the New World, and, on November 6, 1856, the brother, Joseph Planchon and his wife and three children, Jean Pierre Baridon and his wife, and Pierre Gonnet, his wife, sister, and servant set out for Montevideo, where they arrived February 3, 1857. Planchon found employment with his brother in the capital. The other two immigrants, after working a few months on a near-by

³ Ernesto Tron, *Historia de la Iglesia de Colonia Valdense desde la Fundación de la Colonia del Rosario Oriental hasta el día de hoy* (Montevideo: Imprenta "El Siglo Ilustrado," 1928), p. 3.

⁴ Tourn, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

farm, left for the neighboring Department of Florida, where they found land available at a reasonable figure.⁶

In April, 1857, J. P. Baridon wrote to his friends in Villar Pellice, stating that he had purchased a farm, that the work was easier than in the valleys, the climate excellent, and the neighbors kindly. This news was soon broadcast throughout the valleys with the result that an expedition of seventy-three souls for South America was organized. Of these, two families from San Germano planned to go to San Carlos in the Province of Santa Fé, Argentina. The party left Italy in June, arriving in Montevideo after a voyage of ninety-three days. Here all left the ship except one family which continued on to Argentina.

Before embarkation the moderator of the Waldensian Church had given the emigrants a letter of introduction to the British legation at Montevideo, knowing that there was a chaplain connected therewith. The chaplain, the Reverend F. Snow Pendleton, received the newcomers cordially and became of invaluable aid to them. On his advice messengers were sent to Florida in search of Baridon and Gonnet. Soon Baridon and the envoys returned, equipped with ox-drawn carts for the transport of the colonists and their belongings. After a religious service conducted by Pendleton the Waldenses set out for Florida, where they arrived on September 29. All found work without difficulty.

A third contingent made up of twenty-seven families totaling one hundred and thirty-six persons sailed early in December. Arriving in Montevideo on January 29, 1858, they were received by Pendleton, who provided for them until the arrival of their friends from Florida. The country was then in the midst of a revolution; blood was flowing in the streets of Montevideo. The colonists loaded their equipment, their women, and children in oxcarts, while the men set out on foot on a week's journey for Florida. In this party were several families who later left Uruguay to establish the colony of Barry County, Missouri, in 1875. Among them were Bartholomew David Hugon and Judith Solomon, who became engaged on the ship. As will be seen later, Hugon became the leader of the small group which left Missouri to settle in Cooke County, Texas.

In all, forty-five Waldensian families settled in or near the city of Florida. They received a cordial welcome from the inhabitants of the city, and at first all went well. Soon, however, difficulties arose: a Jesuit priest by the name of Majestas looked with displeasure at the

⁶ This and the data in the following paragraphs are taken from Tourn, *op. cit.*, and Tron, *op. cit.*

influx of so many Protestants and incited the people against them. He complained to the authorities, and a commissioner was sent on three successive Sundays to be present at the religious services which were being conducted in the house of Mr. Baridon. A delegation was sent by the Waldenses to Pendleton in Montevideo, who laid the matter before the minister of the interior. The latter sent word to the governor of the department to give the Waldenses protection for their religious services. The disturbances continued, nevertheless, and in June, 1858, Pendleton visited the immigrants and advised them to move to another site where they would be unmolested and might live nearer together.

They were not long in finding a suitable location. A stock company called "Sociedad Agricola de Rosario Oriental" had just been formed with the object of colonizing a large tract on the left bank of the River Rosario in the Department of Colonia. The Waldenses sent four delegates from Florida to examine the property. They reported favorably, and on July 31, 1858, a contract was signed between the company and three representatives of the forty-five Waldensian families. The fifteen families who had purchased farms in Florida exchanged them for farms in Rosario Oriental. The others were assigned farms on condition that after the first year they would deliver to the company a third of the harvest for a period of four years.

The first group of colonists arrived on the new lands on September 27, making their headquarters where now is the center of La Paz. Several other families came early in November, while others remained in Florida to attend to the harvesting of the grain. They reached Rosario Oriental in March of the following year. The conditions found by the settlers are well described by Luis Jourdan, who writes: "On reaching our destination we found ourselves in a vast desert of fourteen square leagues. In all this territory there were but two inhabitants. . . . A great number of wild horses and hogs grazed in the open country. We found ourselves in the midst of bushes higher than a horse, without shelter of any kind, lacking every comfort and unable to reach Rosario (the nearest town) because of the high water of the creeks. It rained almost every day and we could not work. There was no wood for fires to cook our food. And what food it was! A little boiled flour, as a rule without salt or fat of any kind, was all we had. Often we had this humble meal almost prepared in order to still the exigencies of our stomachs when a sudden downpour of rain would fill the pot with water, put out the fire, and destroy everything. We had to begin all over again, and very often breakfast and dinner were

served together. To get wood from the hills we had to wade through water to the waist and run the risk of falling over some cliff or down some precipice. We passed the nights under our carts, protecting ourselves from the sharp wind of the pampa with a quilt or a sheet that was easily soaked with water. Our situation was certainly not a happy one, but rather merited depression. The children, soaked by the rain and shaking with the cold, cried and complained bitterly all the time. It was enough to break one's heart to see so much suffering. God wished to make us pass through the crucible of trial, and we had but to resign ourselves to our fate. And why complain? No one had obliged us to come to this new land; we had come of our own free will and accord." This new colony, the first in the New World made up exclusively of Waldenses, was first called Colonie du Rosario Oriental by the immigrants, and Colonia Piamontesa by the people of Uruguay. It now bears the name Colonia Valdense.

Almost contemporaneous with the establishment of the first Waldensian settlers in Uruguay was a renewed effort to locate colonies in the United States. Of this movement *The American and Foreign Christian Union* reported: "Many readers may be aware that steps have been taken to purchase land in Pennsylvania and Virginia, on which to settle colonies of the poor Waldenses, who win a meagre subsistence in their narrow and sterile Alpine Valleys." This plan was never executed. The above-mentioned publication gave two reasons why it could not sympathize in the movement: "The sale of immense estates by the Sardinian government has opened to the Waldenses a field near home where they may spread the Gospel among Sardinians of papal persuasion. They are the salt of the earth where God has placed them, they are needed more here than in America. The Waldenses are the chief hope for the evangelization of upper Italy."⁷

The governing body of the Waldensian Church was not in favor of the exodus of its people, as is shown by the following remarks in its annual report: "The projects of emigration," it said, "which threatened to transport a considerable part of our population to the New World, have been chastened in spirit under the teachings of sad experience, but we fondly hope they will have salutary results. It begins to be understood that there is quite near us an abundance of excellent soil which only needs willing hands for its cultivation."⁸

In spite of its difficult beginnings and the lack of support from the Mother Church the new colony took root. In 1860 the first pastor, the

⁷ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, VII (Aug., 1857), 252-253.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Reverend Michel Morel, arrived in Uruguay with his family and forty immigrants. Others came the same year and in succeeding years; by 1869 there were 150 families of 809 souls in the colony. With the coming of the pastor, a congregation was organized. In 1861 a schoolmaster started the work of education, with an enrollment of forty-six scholars.

The story of the development of the colony has been well told by Luis Jourdan, Professor N. Tourn, and the Reverend Ernesto Tron. A detailed account of the South American colonies is outside the scope of this study. Let it suffice to indicate some of the more important events in the life of the parent colony of Rosario Oriental and of the many other settlements which grew out of it.

Pastor Morel's term from 1860 to 1869 was marked with many difficulties and disagreements. Chief among the disturbing factors were the opposition of Pendleton, the question as to whether the church should be built in the town of La Paz or in a more central location, and the pastor's inflexible determination to stamp out practices which were not in harmony with the teachings of the Church.

The Reverend Jean P. Salomon, who followed Morel, remained at the head of the colony until 1874. His ministry began favorably, but unhappily the old animosities had not died out. As will be seen later, Salomon resigned after a short pastorate and sailed for New York, establishing in 1875 the Waldensian colony of Barry County, Missouri.⁹

Materially the conditions of the colony were thriving by this time. The original purchase of land had become too small, and the colonists had bought much additional terrain from the estates of wealthy landowners. By 1878, twenty years after their establishment in Uruguay, the Waldenses owned all the land between the La Plata on the south, the Rosario on the west, the Cufre on the east, and the Swiss colony on the north. This area of about fifteen thousand hectares was some six times larger than the original lands. The colonists were raising bountiful crops of wheat and corn and were cultivating vegetables and fruits in increasing quantities. The alluvial soil required no commercial fertilizer.

On November 27, 1877, the Reverend Daniel Armand-Ugon and his bride arrived in the colony. His ministry, which continued until May, 1920, was a blessed one. He settled the differences which had so long divided the colonists, built the churches, and established the high school which now bears his name. Armand-Ugon won early the confidence of the government of Uruguay, which, on two occasions during the 1880's, gave large grants of land to the colony. Armand-Ugon was

⁹ See pp. 57 ff., below.

commissioned to sell this land and to devote the proceeds to such public causes as the building of a bridge over the Rosario, a library, the maintenance of the churches, and the erection of an office building in the town of La Paz. In 1906 the colony had 235 families of Italian origin with a total population of 1,285. The birth rate was high, many families having eight, ten, or twelve children.

The government has frequently shown its appreciation of the Waldensian colony by treating its representatives with special consideration. It has admired the order and discipline of its citizens and has looked upon Colonia Valdense as a model establishment because of its seriousness of purpose, its industry, and its high standards of morality. At one time the President of the Republic gave Armand-Ugon the money necessary for a voyage to Italy. In 1906 the government sketched at its expense maps of the Waldensian settlements in Uruguay and Argentina for the International Exhibition of Milan. In 1934 it gave the sum of eight thousand pesos for the Waldensian Old People's Home and three thousand pesos for improvements of the athletic field.

On April 25, 1920, Armand-Ugon was named pastor emeritus, and the Reverend Ernesto Tron active pastor. Under the latter's effective ministry the church has remained the active center of the life of the colony. Every fifth Sunday the church worship is conducted in French. In 1939 the church had five hundred and eight members, with thirty additions during the year. Nine Sunday Schools with more than four hundred members were conducted.

Great changes and great progress have marked the history of Colonia Valdense. The original farmhouses of clods have been replaced by comfortable, commodious houses, equipped with electricity and modern conveniences. Transportation has been revolutionized with railroads, improved highways, and motor vehicles. The oxcarts of the early years have been replaced by automobiles and trucks. Tractors now work the fertile fields. Rich crops of grain are harvested with the latest agricultural machinery. Capital is sufficient to carry on all necessary projects. Schools are well equipped and well managed. All have work and food.

The rapid increase in the population of the parent colony due to immigration and a high birth rate made it necessary to seek additional territory for expansion. This movement began as early as 1876 and has continued to the present time. At first near-by lands were taken up; then more distant tracts were investigated for colonization.

The first of the new colonies to be opened up was Cosmopolita, which lies to the west of Colonia Valdense, on the west bank of the

Rosario. It is bounded on the south by the La Plata, on the west by the Sauce Grande and the Minuano, on the north by the Colla, a tributary of the Rosario, and a chain of low hills. This territory of about fifteen by twenty-five kilometers was opened up in 1874 by a land company of Montevideo, called "Cosmopolita." In 1876 and the following years some four or five Waldensian families crossed the Rosario and established themselves here, first as tenants with the hope of acquiring farms. By 1882 they had been joined by a sufficient number of their faith to warrant the calling of a Waldensian pastor from Italy. The Reverend Pierre Bounous volunteered his services, leaving the Waldensian valleys in June, 1882, to remain for twenty-four years the pastor of this frontier area. A congregation was organized the following year, fifty-four Waldensian families having settled in Cosmopolita.

The colony grew so rapidly that in 1886 one hundred and forty-nine Waldensian families were members of the church. During the early years the population of Cosmopolita fluctuated greatly, since many of the settlers were tenants. If many came each year from the valleys or from Colonia Valdense, many others left to form smaller groups elsewhere, some of which grew into colonies. The most important of these settlements were Artilleros, west of the Sauce; Riachuelo, west of the river by that name and near the city of Colonia; Tarariras, to the north of Artilleros; San Pedro and San Juan, still farther to the west, along rivers of the same names. Later, settlements were made at Ombúes de Lavalle, on the northern border of the Department of Colonia, and at Dolores and Nieto, on the San Salvador in the Department of Soriano, one hundred and fifty kilometers to the north.

Until 1896 Mr. Bounous, who is still living, was in sole charge of this vast parish. During that year a second church, that of Ombúes de Lavalle and San Salvador, was initiated. The Reverend Paul Lantaret was its first pastor. In 1905 a third church, that of Tarariras, Riachuelo, and San Juan, was formed under the leadership of the Reverend Benjamin A. Pons.

At the present time the Waldenses have seven churches in Uruguay. That of Colonia Valdense, whose pastor is the Reverend Ernesto Tron, has 580 members. The Reverend Emilio H. Ganz is pastor of the church of Cosmopolita, whose membership is 609. The Reverend Daniel Breeze, editor of the official organ of the South American Waldensian churches, *Mensajero Valdense*, has the largest enrollment in his churches of Tarariras-San Pedro-Riachuelo-Colonia. The total membership is 793. The church of Ombúes de Lavalle with a membership

of 359 and the church of Colonia Miguelete with 294 are ministered to by the Reverend Carlos Negrin. The church of San Salvador in the Department of Soriano has 349 members under the leadership of the Reverend Juan Tron. That of Nueva Valdense and Nin y Silva has 120 members without a pastor.¹⁰

These congregations and the three in Argentina make up the seventh district of the Waldensian Church. They are regularly constituted according to the statutes of the Mother Church. Each year a district conference is held, attended by the pastors and delegates from the different churches. The first conference was held in 1905 at the church of Ombúes de Lavalle. The body has the right to send its delegates to the Waldensian Synod, as do the churches which are able to pay their pastor and the other expenses of worship.

Many Waldenses are found in the vast territory of the Argentine Republic. As a rule they have not settled in compact colonies as in Uruguay, but have taken lands from the northern part of Chaco to the southern borders of the Department of Buenos Aires, and in the Pampa Central. Many have not kept up their connection with the Waldensian Church or with each other, being too scattered and too isolated. They have generally become amalgamated with the colonists of other nationalities, many of whom were Protestants from Switzerland, Germany, and England. With few exceptions they have not organized Waldensian congregations.¹¹

The first colony to be founded in Argentina was San Carlos, a few miles southwest of the city of Santa Fé. As indicated above, the Bley-nat family of eight, which came to South America with the second party in 1857, did not leave the ship at Montevideo. Bley-nat continued to Santa Fé and settled in Esperanza colony. He was later named emigration agent by the government. In 1859-1860 five families and two individuals came from the valleys, and they later were joined by several others. Many Waldensian families came to the region upon the abandonment of Colonia Alejandra in 1874. By 1882 there were three groups, comprising twenty-five families. In 1899 there were thirty-nine families with a total of one hundred and seventy-six souls. There were several schools, but the settlers had no religious organization until the establishment of the church of Colonia Belgrano, where, in 1887, a chapel and school were built as a result of a visit by Pastor Armand-Ugon, of Colonia Valdense. In 1895 Pastor Enrico Beux came from Italy to become the first Waldensian pastor in Argentina.

¹⁰ Letter from the Reverend Daniel Breeze to author, Aug., 1939.

¹¹ These data and many of the following are taken from Tourn, *op. cit.*

At the present time Evangelist C. Alberto Griot serves the parish of Belgrano, which numbers three hundred and sixty-five members. Mr. Griot conducts services on three Sundays of each month in Belgrano and on one Sunday in San Carlos, about fifty kilometers to the north-east. Four Sunday Schools are maintained with an enrollment of one hundred and twenty-three pupils.¹²

The interesting story of the ill-fated Alexandra Colony is well told by Professor Tourn.¹³ The colony was organized by the Reverend F. Snow Pendleton in 1872, who went to the Waldensian valleys to enlist thirty-eight families. They embarked on a dilapidated Italian ship, the *Ottavia Stella*, in April. After a terrible voyage, during which nine persons died of smallpox, they arrived on their lands in Argentina to find only confusion and mismanagement. It was a large area of about sixty thousand acres in the Province of Santa Fé. Because of regular inundations only about one fourth of the land, that on the heights, was suitable for agriculture. Indians, wild beasts, and hordes of mosquitoes harassed the settlers. After two years the venture was given up, some families departing for Uruguay and others going to San Carlos. Those who remained in the region prospered as cattle raisers. With the pasturing of cattle along the Parana the breeding places of the mosquitoes were cleaned up, and, as the territory became more populous, the snakes, including constrictors, and the jaguars were exterminated. In 1899 the Waldenses of this district were visited by Vice-Moderator C. A. Tron of the Waldensian Church. He found twenty-five Waldensian families with a total population of one hundred and fifty-five, together with many Protestants of other nationalities. The result of his visit was the organization of a parish by those of Alexandra Colony and the scattered Waldenses in Entre Rios and the Chaco. A subscription was taken to pay a pastor. The Committee of Evangelization designated the Reverend Filippo Ghigo, then pastor of the large parish of Ombúes de Lavalle, Uruguay, to serve the new organization. He reached his new field in 1901 and took charge of the work among the various groups, some of which were more than one hundred and fifty kilometers from his headquarters. Mr. Ghigo remained until June, 1903, when he left for Montreal, whence he went to become pastor of the colony of Valdese, North Carolina. At the present time the Waldenses along the Parana River are not organized in religious bodies. The only group is that of San Gustavo, which is not as yet

¹² Letter from Pastor Daniel Breeze to author, Aug., 1939.

¹³ Tourn, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.

affiliated with the Mother Church and whose minister, the Reverend Elio Maggi, serves unofficially.¹⁴

The church of Colonia Iris with seven hundred and fifteen members is the largest in Argentina. The colony is located in the southwestern extremity of the Department of Buenos Aires and across the limits into the Pampa Central. In 1900 several families from Colonia Valdense and other colonies of Uruguay entered into negotiations with a colonization company of Buenos Aires which had purchased a large tract in this region. An expedition of twenty-eight families of one hundred and seventy-one persons left for the new colony. The first settlement was Colonia Iris on the Bahia Blanca and Northwest Railway Line. The largest group was located at El Triangulo in the Pampa Central. It was thus named because of the shape of the territory occupied by the Waldenses. Nearby sprang up many other settlements, principally at Jacinto Arauz and Villa Alba in the Pampa Central and at General Rondeau in the Department of Buenos Aires. All of these colonies with the exception of El Triangulo were located on the railroad. Most of the Waldenses purchased their lands. After difficult beginnings because of changeable weather and severe droughts, aggravated by strong winds which raised clouds of fine dust, the colonists became adapted to the climate and began to prosper. The colony grew rapidly with constant accessions from the other colonies. By 1906 there were more than one hundred Waldensian families in the region. Twenty years later there were two hundred and seventy families of sixteen hundred souls. One hundred and ten families were proprietors of over twenty-eight thousand acres. Most of the families were living in fine houses, surrounded by orchards, and were raising large crops of wheat, oats, and flax. To farm this vast territory, modern agricultural implements, including combination reapers and threshers, are used.

From the very beginnings the cultural and religious life of the colony was provided for. Divine worship and Sunday Schools were conducted in the home of one of the settlers. The colony was visited frequently by pastors from Uruguay, including the Reverends Benjamin Pons, Henri Beux, Pierre Bounous, and Daniel Armand-Ugon. The latter visited the colony in the capacity of president of the Executive Committee of the conference of the South American District of the Waldensian Church, and with him met representatives of all the groups making up the colony. On December 17, 1905, a church was organized and a petition was sent to the Waldensian Church asking that a pastor be sent to minister to the large field. A session was

¹⁴ Letter from Pastor Daniel Breeze to author, Aug., 1939.

elected, and a subscription was taken to provide for the support of a pastor.

The first regular pastor was the Reverend David Forneron, who arrived in Colonia Iris early in February, 1909. He remained until his return to Italy in June, 1913. The Reverend Ernesto Tron assumed charge of the parish the following year. He was followed by the Reverend Levy Tron in 1920. In 1929 the present pastor, the Reverend Silvio Long, began his ministry. The history of the colony has been written by Pastor Levy Tron, who published in 1926, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Colonia Iris, his "*Colonia Iris en sus primeros 25 Años, 1901-1926*."¹⁵

Although there have been financial difficulties and hindrances due to the "profoundly indifferent surroundings," the church membership has kept pace with the steady growth of the colony. In 1937 there were 686 members with 29 admissions and in 1939 there were 715 members with 25 admissions. A new Sunday School was opened recently in Villa Alba, bringing the number in the parish to nine, with a total enrollment of three hundred.¹⁶

The Waldensian colonists in South America, like their cousins in North America, impress their neighbors and visitors with their truth, their industry, and their good works. Dr. John R. Mott, who traveled widely in South America during the summer of 1940, wrote: "I met many Waldenses on my trip in South America. They are the salt of the earth." An official of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions recently stated: "Along the River Plate a Waldensian's word is as good as another man's bond."¹⁷

¹⁵ Pampa Central: Jacinto Arauz, 1926.

¹⁶ *Mensajero Valdense*. For much of the information concerning the later years of the South American colonies the author is indebted to Pastors Daniel Breeze, of Tarariras-San Pedro-Riachuelo, and Silvio Long, of Colonia Iris.

¹⁷ American Waldensian Aid Society, *Bulletin No. 14*, Nov. 15, 1940.

CHAPTER VII

MONETT, MISSOURI

The leader of the first nineteenth-century group of Waldensian colonists to the United States was the Reverend Jean Pierre Michelin Salomon,¹ who, in 1875, established a settlement in Barry County, at a point about one and one-half miles south of present-day Monett, Missouri. Solomon had become pastor of the Waldensian colony of Rosario Oriental, Uruguay, in November, 1870.² On November 16, 1874, he had resigned his position because of the ever-increasing controversies in the church of the colony and the continued revolutions in Uruguay.³ On February 1, 1875, he left the colony with his family and sailed for New York, where he was to be joined later by several Waldensian families from the colony who also had become dissatisfied with conditions.⁴ They had found too much lawlessness and too frequent revolutions. Bands of soldiers were liable to descend on a farm at any time, demanding food and sometimes taking the best animals and forcing the young men to enter the military service.⁵

It is not certain that Solomon planned to investigate the possibilities of locating in the state of Missouri before leaving South America. Perhaps he had been attracted to that state by the advertisements of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, the parent company of the present St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad. Its lines extended in 1875 to Pierce City, about seven miles northwest of Monett.

Upon arriving in New York City, Solomon met the Reverend Henri Grandlienard, pastor of the French Evangelical Church in New York. He soon got into communication with the Reverend Willis L. Miller, pastor of the Brick Church of Mount Vernon, Lawrence County, Mis-

¹ "We adopted the English spelling, Solomon, when we came to the United States," wrote Professor Alfred Solomon to the author, Nov. 8, 1939.

² *Boletín de la Sociedad Sudamericana de Historia Valdense*, X, 87. See Ernesto Tron, *Historia de la Iglesia de Colonia Valdense* (Montevideo, 1928), p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Although the citizens of Monett agree that Solomon and his family came alone to New York in February, it is stated by Ernesto Tron in the above-mentioned works that he was accompanied by several families. *Le Témoin* of Feb. 5, 1875, stated that he would leave on Feb. 16, "with a few families."

⁵ This and much of the subsequent material was furnished by members of the original group still living in Monett, Mo., and in Orange County, Calif.

souri, several miles north of Plymouth, now the city of Monett.⁶ Miller advised him that Barry County was a suitable location for the new colony.

Solomon remained in New York until the arrival of the eight families who had decided to leave Uruguay. They had departed from Rosario Oriental on a sailing ship, *Isabelle*, bound for Montevideo. There they took ship for Le Havre on the French steamer, *Saint Martin*. In Rio de Janeiro the ship was loaded with coffee. At that time a serious epidemic of yellow fever was raging in that city. During the crossing to Le Havre fire broke out on the *Saint Martin*, but it was extinguished by the crew without loss of life. The party remained in Le Havre two weeks, awaiting the British steamship, *Denmark*, which arrived at Castle Garden, New York City, on July 4, 1875.

In the group there were Barthélemy Hugon and his son Barthélemy David Hugon with his wife and eight children, Catherine, Barthélemy, Jr., Paul, David, Pauline, Lydia, Annette, and Esther; David Lauteret, his wife Marguerite, and three children, Marie, Daniel, and Étienne; Jean P. Planchon with his wife and eight children, Jean P. S. (the first Waldensian child born in Rosario Oriental), Joseph, Paul, David, Pierre, Henri, Anna, and Catherine; David W. Courdin; Étienne Courdin with three sons and five daughters, Étienne, Jr., David, Jean, Catherine, Margaret, Marie, Suzanne, and Madeleine Pontet, daughter of his wife by a previous marriage; Jean Solomon and wife; Paul Solomon with his wife and three children, Annette, Jean, and Paul; Étienne Catalin, cousin of Étienne Courdin; and Mr. and Mrs. B. Coisson. The Reverend Jean P. Solomon and his wife, Rachel Marie, had five children, Abel, Samuel, Pierre, Will, and an infant who died in St. Louis.

After remaining a few days in New York the newcomers entrained for St. Louis. On the way an accident occurred: the engine of the train had passed over a trestle which gave way, the coaches tipping over. Étienne Courdin, Jr., was slightly cut on the head.

Mr. and Mrs. Solomon were obliged to remain in St. Louis with their child who was desperately ill. Other members of the group proceeded without their leader to Verona, about ten miles north of Plymouth. Here they were met at midnight by the Reverend Mr. Miller, of Mount Vernon. A few days later Mr. and Mrs. Solomon arrived with the body of their child, which they buried in Verona. The colonists rented a large house where they remained for about three weeks,

⁶ MS written by Émile Arnaud, loaned by his sister, Mrs. Edith Arnaud Mermoud.

buying supplies, teams, and household articles.⁷ Most of the members of the party were well supplied with money. From Uruguay they had brought, sewed in their garments, considerable sums of English gold. Some families had as much as three thousand dollars. While the women and children remained in Verona, the men went to the lands which had been offered for sale. Several tracts were available. The land agent, Colonel Purdy, of Pierce City, representing the railroad company, showed some very suitable prairie land, and, although they were advised to select a location at Spring River Prairie, they considered the land covered with trees to be more fertile. Furthermore, after having lived in Uruguay, where wood was very scarce, they were attracted by the lands heavily covered with various types of oak, hickory, and other hard woods. On the land which they selected the men erected temporary houses of boards, which they placed on end, forming tepee-like huts.

The lands were slightly rolling, with fertile clay soil and many small stones. The altitude of the region is 1,462 feet. There were several sink holes of considerable area, frequented by birds and animals. There were no natural springs; so the lack of water became a serious problem during the first years. The clearings were covered with prairie grass, four feet tall.

When their purchases had been completed the party left Verona in wagons, going across country. They saw no signs of human habitation along the way, except for a field planted in tobacco. Deer, wild turkeys, and prairie chickens were numerous.⁸ Word of their coming had been spread abroad, and many people had come to see the new settlers arrive. They were cordially welcomed by the citizens of the region, who expressed their greetings with bows and smiles. Solomon was the only member of the party who could speak English.⁹

In their hastily prepared huts, mattresses were spread on the ground, and there the families lived, cooking out of doors, until box houses of about fourteen by twenty-four feet were built of rough boards hauled from Pierce City. Fireplaces and chimneys of field stone, set in clay, were built. Some of the colonists plastered the walls of their houses with clay. A few built their houses of logs which were cut on the farms. One of the new houses was soon destroyed by fire. The children of David Lauteret had been left alone at home, while their father was at work some distance away. They built a fire which spread in the grass, burning the house and all its contents except a trunk which

⁷ *Missouri Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1927), 636.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Monett Times*, Feb. 2, 1927.

Solomon pulled from the blazing house. In this trunk Lauteret kept most of his money. Nevertheless, about four hundred dollars in cash was destroyed.

The first summer was spent in clearing the land and erecting houses, it being too late for planting. Most of the colonists had bought forty acres from the railroad company, others larger tracts at four dollars an acre. After the trees had been felled, the stumps were pulled out and the land ploughed. Many a ploughshare was broken on the roots and rocks. Prairie grass was cut and stacked to provide for the oxen, cows, and mules. The numerous boys of the colony were much pleased during the first summer with the abundant turkeys, deer, and rabbits which they hunted.

The most difficult task was the digging of wells. These were dug by hand and were usually six feet in diameter. The dirt had to be hoisted out by boxes or buckets and a windlass. Many wells were dug to a considerable depth without success and had to be abandoned. On the Planchon farm, for example, a well was dug to a depth of sixty feet. A small supply of water was struck; then the digging continued to a depth of one hundred feet, without additional streams being found. It was nearly three years before suitable wells were available on all the farms. At the present time, water is secured from driven wells. On the Lauteret farm a small stream of water was encountered after digging thirty-three feet, below which eight feet of solid rock had to be blasted. Then the well was driven to a depth of two hundred feet.

The first winter was very severe. To the settlers accustomed to the mild climate of Uruguay the blizzards and subzero weather of the Ozarks were most trying. They had an ample supply of firewood, but their houses were not substantial enough to keep out the cold. The water holes were frozen, so that water had to be brought from Pierce City. The cattle were driven four miles to Bethel Spring. Some water was obtained by melting quantities of snow in kettles hung at the fireplace.

On the first of March, 1876, the colony was joined by another family from Europe. Étienne and Marie Arnaud with their five children, Protestants, arrived from the Department of La Drôme in southern France. They had been prosperous winegrowers, whose fortunes had been lost through the ravages of the root louse, or phylloxera, which at this time had destroyed most of the native French vines. In order to seek better living conditions and to avoid compulsory military service for the boys, they had come to New York with the inten-

tion of settling in Nebraska. At the French Evangelical Church they were advised by the pastor, the Reverend Henri Grandlienard, to seek a milder climate and to unite with the French-speaking Waldenses of Barry County. This was the first of many families who came to Monett at the advice of Grandlienard.¹⁰ Arnaud was named first elder in the Waldensian Church. He died in 1882. His wife died four years later.

In 1877 Benjamin De Coq and his children came from France. A skilled carpenter, he built the church and many of the permanent farmhouses of the colony. At about the same time Grandlienard sent also Jules Jacques from Sainte Croix, Switzerland, with his six children. Jacques later became an elder in the Waldensian Church.

The first years in Barry County were difficult. Many were discouraged and homesick, but by hard work they kept the cattle alive through summer droughts and severe winters, and they raised good crops of wheat, corn, oats, potatoes, sorghum, and beans. The cattle were allowed to roam at "free range," only the tilled land being enclosed by rail fences.

Solomon organized religious services for the colonists soon after their arrival, and "in the fall of 1876 they were organized and incorporated as a church, under an arbor and shade of a large oak tree, and affiliated with Ozark Presbytery"¹¹ of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The church was supported by the Board of Home Missions of the Northern Presbyterian Church. Solomon served the Waldenses regularly, preached occasionally in English for other pastors of the Presbytery, and conducted services at near-by stations.¹²

On January 5, 1877, Ozark Presbytery sent a fraternal letter to the

¹⁰ Grandlienard was born in Pierrefitte, Switzerland, in 1842 and was educated in the *lycée* of his native town and at the Christschona Missionary School of Basle. After three years of missionary work in the Upper Sudan he came to America. He served as pastor of a German Lutheran congregation in Baltimore for about two years before accepting a call to the French Evangelical Church of New York. This church was at that time without a pastor and struggling for its existence. His long pastorate, from October, 1872, to his death on May 13, 1912, was most fruitful. An unbelievably hard worker—he was up at five every morning—he did a splendid work in his church and for the French-speaking transients in New York City. He was a firm believer in the Monett colony, and many Swiss and French Protestants came there at his advice. In 1888 he visited the colony and baptized Suzanne, daughter of Daniel Davit (*Minutes*, II, 43).

¹¹ MS of Emile Arnaud.

¹² *The Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1878), XXIX, 364. In 1877 he was listed as serving at Pierce City and one station; in 1881 his fields were indicated as "Waldensian" and "White Oak." See *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1877), p. 105; (1881), p. 113.

Waldensian Church of Italy, expressing satisfaction at the admission to the Presbytery of Solomon, "a brother well beloved in the Lord, who has shown himself accomplished in all good works." The Presbytery suggested that other Waldensian colonists be sent to Barry County, for it feared that unless the colony were "fortified by continual additions from their dear mountains and valleys," it might lose some of its individuality and "the noble qualities which have made the Waldenses so respected for centuries."¹³

Étienne Arnaud was elected elder and J. P. Planchon and D. W. Courdin were elected trustees of the new congregation. There were twenty-two adult charter members.¹⁴ During the first few years services were held in the summer and fall under the oaks in the open air. During the winter the worshipers met first in Solomon's house and later in Talbert School, about three miles from the center.¹⁵ A Sunday School was organized with fifty members, of whom some were children of Baptist and Methodist families living in the neighborhood.¹⁶ To accommodate these American children, English was spoken during part of the services. By 1878 the American families had withdrawn their children and started schools of their own. French now became the only language in the colony school. "Our people," wrote Solomon, "of course, understand much better."¹⁷

Solomon, encouraged by the auspicious beginnings of the church, wrote in 1878: "I am happy to say that the word of God is doing His work in the conscience of sinners and for the comfort of Christians."¹⁸ He rejoiced at the arrival of new families from Europe and predicted that several other Waldensian families would come. "Our door is open," he added, "for those who cannot live in the Valleys and who do not want to go to South America. Militarism, Marseilles, and Montevideo have been the three curses of the Valleys."¹⁹

The other churches in the region welcomed the new congregation and co-operated with it. The Pisgah Methodist Protestant Church invited the Waldenses to take communion with it. The New Site Baptist Church allowed the body of the wife of Paul Solomon, the first colonist to die, to be buried in its cemetery.

The need of a church building was great. The St. Louis and San

¹³ *Le Témoin*, Feb. 9, 1877.

¹⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1877), p. 867. See *Missouri Historical Review*, XXI, 636.

¹⁵ *The Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1878), XXIX, 364.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Francisco Railroad gave a tract of forty acres upon which to erect a church. On this land a small frame structure was built in 1877 and 1878. As soon as the crops were harvested in 1877 the men cut much of the necessary timber and had it sawn at a near-by mill.²⁰ They and some of their American friends drove to Arkansas and brought back in wagons pine lumber for the building.²¹

In August, 1879, Pastor J. D. Turin, of Italy, visited the colony, finding it in a prosperous condition. He was amazed when he arrived at the farm of J. P. Planchon to find it a large farm of two hundred and twenty acres, with immense fields of corn higher than one's head, a large field of sorghum which produced an excellent brand of molasses which was eaten with the *polenta*, or cornmeal mush, and also a vast field of Irish and sweet potatoes. He found a good wooden house, round which were hundreds of chickens and several scores of hogs. Cows, oxen, and horses were pastured in the noncultivated tracts. He learned that this was the largest farm of the colony, most of the other Waldenses having one hundred and sixty acres. Wheat was being produced at a rate of more than twenty to one: all the families, reported Turin, had from fifty to two hundred bushels for sale.²²

He found nine Waldensian families in the colony with a total population of fifty-four. In addition, there were in the settlement three other European families, making a total of seventy-two souls. The children were beginning to speak English and were said to be at the head of their classes in the public school.²³

This same year a group of the Barry County colony left Missouri for Texas, where they founded a small colony at Wolf Ridge, about ten miles from Gainesville, county seat of Cooke County. It is not easy to establish how many made up the party. One authority states that there were two families, those of Barthélemy David Hugon and Paul Solomon;²⁴ another mentions J. Solomon, father of Paul, and B. Coisson.²⁵

During the early 1880's the Missouri colony was increased by a considerable number of families from the Waldensian valleys, France, and Switzerland. From San Germano came Jacques Griset with his wife and children. In 1880 Jean Bouvier and his family came from Pramollo. Finding conditions to his liking, Bouvier wrote to his

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Missouri Historical Review*, XXI, 636.

²² *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, Nov., 10, 1898, p. 364.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1898.

²⁵ *Missouri Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1927). See Chapter VIII, "Wolf Ridge, Texas."

brother-in-law, Paul François Reynaud, of the same locality; and a party desirous of seeking a better station in life was organized. Some of this group had planned to emigrate to Uruguay. On April 5, 1881, they left Turin for Le Havre, where they boarded the French steamship *Saint Laurent*. They had paid two hundred and sixty-two lire for their passage from Italy to Plymouth. They landed as immigrants at Castle Garden, New York, and were at their destination on April 26. In the party were Daniel Bounous, of Pramollo, with his wife Jeannette and five children; François Reynaud, of Pramollo, with his wife and six children; J. Jacques Bertalot from the same place with his wife Suzanne and three children; Barthélemy Combe from Angrogna, with his wife, brother Paul, and four children; Matthieu Gaydou from Angrogna with his wife Catherine and three children; Pierre Bonnet and wife from Angrogna with three children; Jacques Long and wife Elizabeth from Pramollo, the parents of Mesdames Bouvier and Reynaud.^{25a}

Some of these families had about \$600 on their arrival and bought farms. Three of the families, the Bounous, Bertalots, and Bonnets, purchased co-operatively a farm of eighty acres at \$12 an acre. The colony was thriving with adequate homes, a church building, and a cemetery laid out. There were about eighteen yoke of oxen in the colony, as well as many cows, pigs, and chickens. Most of the colonists planted fifteen to twenty acres in corn, wheat, and oats. There were no vineyards, but some had cultivated a few Concord grapes. Peach and apple orchards were being set out on several farms. Good breaking plows and tools were in use. The grains were harvested with reapers. Most of the men and boys in the second party worked on colony farms the first season, the maximum wage being fifty cents a day. The new arrivals were soon naturalized, most of them becoming members of the Republican party.

Later frequent additions were made to the colony. Among several families coming on the recommendation of Grandlienard were Lucien Marchand from the canton of Bern, Switzerland, who became an elder in the church; Ami Cuendet from Sainte Croix, Switzerland, with his wife Charlotte, to whom were born ten children; Épiphanie Bariquand and wife, with his brother Claude and two children from the Department of Saône et Loire, France; Louis and David Plavan and their brother Frank from the Waldensian valleys, who came in 1883; Moïse Griset from the Val Cluson with his wife Antoinette and

^{25a} This information concerning the second large group was furnished by members now living in Monett, especially Mr. Alexandre Bounous, son of Daniel.

seven children; Jean Barolin and wife Marie from Villar with three children; Paul Stebler from Switzerland, who became church treasurer, deacon, and clerk; Henry de Jersey from the Island of Jersey, who became an elder; Henri Malan from the valleys in 1883; Edward and Louis Schneider from Switzerland; Madame Jabba; Jean Beux; and Louis Rochon. At different times several individuals came temporarily but did not settle definitely, some going to California, some to Texas, and others to various points in search of greener pastures.

Solomon remained at the head of the colony for several years. He and Mrs. Solomon served not only as the spiritual directors of the congregation, but as interpreters, advisers, nurses, and physicians. They were highly esteemed by their parishioners, among whom it was a tradition to feel a deep reverence toward their ministers. They treated Solomon and his family with all possible liberality, offering them their choicest farm products. Unfortunately, Solomon had a weak constitution and was unable to engage in farming. During his pastorate the membership increased from twenty-two in 1876 to forty-four in 1882 and 1883.²⁶ For many years Solomon was afflicted with tuberculosis and in 1884 he was obliged to resign his pastorate and to go to California in an attempt to regain his health. It was too late, however, and he died in Tustin on May 11, 1885. His wife, who bore eleven children, died in California in 1911.²⁷ Reference to Solomon's sons will be found in another chapter.²⁸

For about two years the church was without a regular pastor. Services, however, were continued, and on March 27, 1886, the secretary of the session wrote in the records: "Our little colony, having remained since the departure of Mr. Solomon without a pastor, has earnestly desired to have within its bosom a spiritual conductor: behold now that God, Who is all love, and Who, better than we ourselves, knows all our needs, has found a means of satisfying this desire in the person of Mr. Jacroux, evangelist."²⁹

To provide for their new pastor, the Reverend J. F. Jacroux, a Frenchman who came from Canada, the colonists erected a parsonage a few paces east of the church, raising the necessary funds of \$341.35 by subscription.³⁰ A yearly salary of two hundred dollars was voted to Jacroux.³¹ The Presbyterian Church in the United States of Amer-

²⁶ *Annual Reports on Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1877), p. 867; (1882), p. 137.

²⁷ Letter from Professor Alfred Solomon to author, Nov. 8, 1939.

²⁸ See p. 177.

²⁹ *Minutes of the Waldensian Church of Stone Prairie*, No. 1, March 27, 1886.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

ica, which had helped the congregation from its establishment, contributed toward the support of Jacroux and to that of several of his successors.

He remained pastor of the Waldensian Church of Stone Prairie for about three years. During his term there were seventy members from thirty families on the church rolls.⁸² He was a very capable and hard-working pastor, but it was during his ministry that dissident tendencies became manifest among certain families of the colony. Jacroux, a Baptist, did not believe in infant baptism.⁸³ Some of the members of the Waldensian congregation left to unite with the Baptists.

Jacroux was followed by H. Junod, a native of Switzerland, who had been a colporteur in Canada before coming to the Waldenses of Barry County. Although Junod seems to have had some good qualities, he did not come up to the expectations of the colony. In a letter printed in *Le Témoign* an anonymous writer asserted: "For various reasons which I shall not reveal here, he did not make a long stay in the colony. One year after his coming, abandoned by all, he was forced to leave and went to settle on an uncultivated farm in Arkansas."⁸⁴ In the annual report of the church for 1891 and 1892 the session laments the "unusual obstructions which have been thrown in the wheels of progress to religion in our field: first, we had a Baptist minister who at the end of his term left us in two divided camps; secondly, this minister was followed by a traveling Bible salesman who was incompetent to fulfill the office of preacher and would as a matter of course often find himself on Sunday in church without a single hearer."⁸⁵

The colony had continued to grow through births and the arrival of new members. In the late 1880's came Daniel Davit and his wife Anna and family; Jean Caïrus with his wife Suzanne and family. In 1891 Étienne Balmas, of San Germano, came with his wife Henriette and children. To the church came also several American families from near-by farms.

On September 27, 1887, an event of great importance took place: the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad moved its division headquarters from Pierce City to Plymouth Junction, and the small town became the busy railroad center of Monett, named for an important official of the New York Central Railroad. The Monett Town Com-

⁸² Eighteen names were added to this list later (*Minutes*, No. 2, pp. 1-3). There were but sixty-three members listed in 1892 (*ibid.*, pp. 4-5).

⁸³ *Le Témoign*, Nov. 26, 1896, p. 380.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Minutes*, No. 2, p. 2.

pany was formed, and the site was surveyed in September, 1887. In February of the following year a new school building was completed. On May 7, 1888, the city attorney petitioned the Barry County court for a charter as a fourth-class city, there being more than five hundred and less than twenty-five hundred inhabitants. The petition was granted, and the court appointed S. J. Courdin, of the Waldensian colony, as first mayor of Monett. The city has remained the division headquarters of the railroad and is today a modern community of 4,802 inhabitants.³⁶

From the first of November, 1891, until December, 1892, the church was without a pastor. The congregation addressed an appeal to the Waldensian Church of Italy, which sent the Reverend C. A. Buffa to assume charge of the work.³⁷ In the interim services had been conducted whenever possible under the leadership of pastors sent by Ozark Presbytery or those who chanced to visit the colony. The Sunday School work had been carried on with satisfactory results.³⁸

With the coming of Buffa the work of the congregation was completely reorganized. Two services of public worship were held each Sunday.³⁹ French was the language of all the activities of the church. Buffa also took charge of the Sunday School work. The troublesome question of baptism continued to cause some dissension, but many of the parents brought their children for this rite. Interest in the campaign of evangelization in Italy was kept alive by monthly collections for that cause. The new pastor organized a class of religious instruction for the young people, and a choral society to assist in the services.⁴⁰ He supervised the necessary repairs of the church, which, on his arrival, resembled "more a shed than a place of prayer."⁴¹

On the first Sunday in December, 1894, Buffa preached his farewell sermon. He did not leave Monett at once, but continued his work in the Sunday School. He was persuaded by the Board of Home Missions to take up his charge again during the month of March, but on April 1, "disgusted by the perversity of several members and the little apparent success of his work," he resigned and left for Canada.⁴²

Until October 13, 1895, there were again no regular preaching services. On that date the fifth pastor of the colony, the Reverend J. G. Knotter, of New York, began his first pastorate at the Waldensian Church. He was of Dutch descent on his father's side, his mother

³⁶ *Monett Times*, June 16, 1937.

³⁷ *Minutes*, No. 2, p. 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. iv.

⁴¹ *Le Témoin*, Nov. 26, 1896.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. iii-iv.

⁴² *Ibid.*

being of an old Huguenot family. According to a correspondent who signed himself "American" in *Le Témoin*, Knotter encountered many difficulties in the work of the church. Some members did not meet their pledges promptly, others were given to slander, and others were obstinate in not presenting their children for baptism; there was some abuse of alcohol. Knotter is reported to have remarked to a member of the congregation that he was astonished that Buffa remained as long as he did.⁴³ During Knotter's pastorate English was used again in the Sunday School, beginning November 22, 1896.⁴⁴

The material conditions among the colonists were favorable, especially for the older arrivals who had paid for their land. The more recent comers were having trouble, however, and several left for near-by states, for St. Louis, or for California.

On April 3, 1897, Knotter announced to the session that because of the poor health of his wife he was obliged to resign.⁴⁵ For nearly two years the pulpit was vacant. Services were held as often as possible under the direction of visiting ministers. The Sunday School work was continued. In January, 1899, came the Reverend Thomas Charbonnel with the recommendations of the Presbytery, sent from Trois Rivières, Province of Quebec. The members raised a sum of about two hundred dollars for his salary, and he was given the use of the manse and the forty acres which had been deeded to the church by the railroad company. The Home Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America was asked to contribute two hundred dollars. The session remarked that "in view of the bad crops it could do no more, and would be very grateful to the Board if it would grant the said sum to the pastor." On his arrival Charbonnel requested an appointment for several years, and the session voted to "keep him as long as he shall wish to remain with us."⁴⁶ Unhappily he did not prove to be the right man for the place, and it was not long before the colony was again without spiritual leadership.

The Chairman of the Committee on Home Missions, Dr. Asa Leard, of Springfield, took immediate steps to provide a temporary pastor, and in 1900 he invited the Reverend P. Philippe Briol, a native of the canton of Vaud, Switzerland, to visit the colony. Briol had been educated in Switzerland, France, and Canada and was a graduate of the Theological Seminary of San Francisco. He had served as pastor of the French Evangelical Reformed Church of that city and of var-

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Sessional Records of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church of Monett*, p. 13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 17 f.

ious American churches. He was given a call and he accepted. He served the church until June 1, 1901. During his brief pastorate several members were added to the church.⁴⁷

The next pastor to serve the church was the Reverend Edward A. Curdy, a native of Switzerland, who came to Monett, after a pastorate in Canada, on January 1, 1903. Before his arrival the work was carried on as well as possible with the help of the Presbyterian pastor of Monett, the Reverend Henry Hepburn, and by the laymen. The young men of the church organized a Christian Endeavor Society, which met every Sunday. Sunday School work was conducted with success by the superintendent, J. P. S. Planchon.

For several months after his coming Curdy served as temporary pastor, but on November 4, 1903, he was unanimously called to become the regular pastor at a salary of five hundred dollars a year.⁴⁸ Curdy succeeded in arousing a great deal of interest in the church work. Two services were held each Sunday. It was necessary to install twenty new seats in the church, for never had the services been so well attended. There was an average attendance of one hundred and twenty at each meeting, and of fifty at the midweek prayer service. There were sixty-five names on the church roll. During Curdy's term the question of baptism, which had long disturbed the work, seems to have been definitely settled. Parents now felt the necessity of presenting their infants for baptism. Curdy baptized sixteen on Sunday, March 15, 1903. Language was becoming a hindrance in the work, several parents being unable to speak English and their children being unable to understand French. Accordingly, it was necessary to conduct the Sunday School in both English and French, four classes being in English and one in French. The "reviewer" gave his review in both languages. Great progress was made in church giving under Curdy's leadership. For the first time in its history the church decided to meet all of its expenses, which amounted to over six hundred dollars, without aid from the Home Mission Board.⁴⁹

Shortly after he took charge of the work in Monett, Curdy found that he was not in good standing with Ozark Presbytery. Before coming to Monett he had believed "for a moment" in the necessity of being baptized "in the water." He was reminded by the Presbytery that by so doing he had lost his consecration and that he "would have to begin all over again." He hesitated for a time to accept this ruling,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-57.

⁴⁸ *Registre de l'Eglise Vaudoise de Stone Prairie*, p. xiv.

⁴⁹ *Sessional Records of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church of Monett*, No. 4, pp. 63-75.

feeling that it carried a condemnation of and humiliation for other churches. The session debated the dilemma of the pastor, voting to let him be guided by his conscience and adjuring him to remain with them, preaching the Gospel. After six months the matter was settled peaceably. Ozark Presbytery announced that it was willing to give him the hand of fellowship if he would submit to reordination, "not because he had been in the water" but because he had entered the lay ranks before accepting the post at Monett.⁵⁰

Curdy's fruitful ministry was terminated late in 1905. Thereafter services were held in the Waldensian Church once or twice each month by the Reverend Dr. George Williamson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Monett. He preached on Sunday afternoons before large audiences.

In 1907 Knotter returned to the church for a second pastorate, which continued until October, 1911. During this term it was found necessary to increase the use of English in the services and to build a new edifice. It was decided on October 27, 1907, that "in view of the fact that the majority of our church membership are conversant with the English language and that our young people do not understand the French tongue" not only the morning service of the last Sunday should be conducted in English, but that of the evening also.⁵¹ To provide adequate facilities for worship, it was decided to begin at once with the construction of the new church. A building committee made up of E. Arnaud and J. P. S. Planchon was named. This body supervised the construction of the present concrete structure with a basement. It was placed in front of the old location, nearer to the entrance of the cemetery. It was completed and ready for dedication on December 12, 1909. On February 21, 1909, the congregation voted "to tear down the old church building and to save as much lumber as possible for use in the manse."

Five services of consecration were held with the co-operation of the ministers of Monett and the synodical secretary, Dr. J. B. Hill. Preparatory meetings were held on Friday and Saturday by Dr. George Williamson. The dedication ceremony was conducted by Dr. Hill on Sunday morning. A preaching service was held by Dr. Hunter, of Monett, in the afternoon; in the evening twenty converts responded to the invitation of the preacher, Dr. Williamson. It was announced that the church was entirely free from debt and had "received a new start" which would "carry the work forward for years to come."⁵²

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1907.

⁵² *Minutes*, Dec. 12, 1909.

Knotter was followed by a series of American pastors who remained at the head of the church for only brief periods. The Reverend George B. Tingle came in April, 1912, and was in Monett two years. He died April 22, 1915. English had now become the language of the church. The Reverend Denton R. Woods was pastor from June 14, 1915, to May 1, 1919. During the World War the church sent twenty-one of her sons into the armed forces, of whom three, Lawrence Courdin, Edward Lauteret, and Gilbert Planchon, died while in service.

The Reverend Benjamin F. Berryhill, who was in charge from June 1, 1919, to June 1, 1921, was succeeded by Dr. Fred F. Dobson, who served as supply while pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Monett. The Reverend Lewis E. Mitchell came late in 1924 and remained a little over two years. During his pastorate there were ninety-eight communicants on the rolls and a Sunday School membership of eighty-seven. Services were continued after his departure with preaching services every two weeks and Sunday School every Sunday. The Ladies' Aid Society was efficient and helped greatly in carrying on the work.

On July 3, 1928, the Reverend Joseph Bruce became the pastor. He was regularly installed, and remained in Monett until October 20, 1936. Coming to the church during boom times, he was offered a salary of more than eleven hundred dollars, but it was soon found impossible to pay him this sum. Farm products, such as milk, poultry, pork, beef, and potatoes, were given by the parishioners to supplement yearly payments of between five and six hundred dollars.

Under Bruce's leadership the church celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding on Sunday, August 18, 1929. After the regular morning services the women of the congregation served a basket dinner on the premises. The afternoon was devoted to historical speeches and reminiscences by the early settlers. For one day French was again heard in the Waldensian Church of Monett. Hymns were sung and an address was made in that tongue by J. F. Mermoud, who paid tribute to the Waldensian women who had come to a new country and had taken their places beside their husbands in establishing homes for their families. The Honorable Royle Ellis, prosecuting attorney of Barry County, gave the principal address, entitled "Our Pioneers." Messrs. David Courdin and Émile Arnaud spoke of the settlement and early years of the colony. At the conclusion of the exercises the public remained to examine an exhibition of relics, old books, and Bibles which had been arranged by J. F. Mermoud. Among the items were:

a spinning wheel made by David Courdin in 1878, an oak cradle used during the first years in Missouri, a bush scythe brought from the Waldensian valleys, claw hammers, hand forges, homemade knives and pitchforks. Several old psalm and prayer books brought from Italy were displayed.⁵³

On April 1, 1937, the Reverend Lincoln N. Bartelsmeyer became pastor. A graduate of Drury College, this gifted young preacher was very successful in his work. It was with regret on the part of his congregation that he resigned on October 1, 1939, to accept a position in Mammoth Springs, Arkansas.

The Reverend Joseph Miller, of Rogers, Arkansas, became pastor on October 1, 1940. Mr. Miller had previously held pastorates in that city and in Tennessee. In each of these two states he had had an active part in the state young people's work. In addition to his labors for the Waldensian Presbyterian Church he became pastor-at-large for Carthage Presbytery.

During the author's visit to the Barry County colony in June, 1939, he had the pleasure of meeting the four surviving members of the party which came from Uruguay in 1875, as well as many who joined the colony from various sources later. The survivors who live in or near Monett are Daniel Lauteret, son of David Lauteret; David P. Courdin, of Purdy, Missouri, son of Étienne Courdin, Jr.; Miss Madeleine Pontet, daughter by a previous marriage of Mrs. Étienne Courdin, Jr.; and her sister, Mrs. Suzanne Reynaud, nee Courdin.⁵⁴ These and the other members of the colony live in comfortable houses on large farms or in the city of Monett. The farmers were then engaged in harvesting abundant crops of barley. On the farms were fine herds of cattle, many horses, mules, and other animals. Tractors and other mechanical farming implements were seen. Large areas were planted in wheat, corn, and other grains. Good roads connect the farms of the colony with Monett and other points.

The church, parsonage, and cemetery were well kept. About eighty members were enrolled in the church and sixty-five in the Sunday School. Morning and evening worship were being held regularly. The annual budget is about eight hundred dollars.

The sons and daughters of the community have assumed positions of leadership. Many have had college educations. The courses in agriculture at the University of Missouri have attracted the young men.

⁵³ Monett *Times*, Aug. 20, 1929.

⁵⁴ As will be seen in a later chapter, there are several natives of Uruguay still living in Orange County, Calif.



Waldensian Church of Stone's Prairie, Monett, Mo., 1908



Paschetto's Painting to Celebrate the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the "Glorious Return"

Among the prominent athletes at the University was T. A. Mermoud, the present superintendent of the Waldensian Sunday School. Dr. Joel D. Bounous, son of Alexandre Bounous, graduated from the University and has been for many years professor of modern languages at the State Teachers' College, Springfield. Others of the younger generation have important positions in the banks, stores, and hotels of Monett. The leading hotel is managed by C. Bertalot, who came as a youth from Pramollo in 1881.

The visitor to the Monett colony is impressed with its apparent prosperity and its almost complete Americanization. One hears but little French around the Waldensian Church. Some of the older citizens still greet each other in the dialects of the valleys, but all speak English with little or no trace of foreign accent. The Waldenses of Barry County have not clung to their old Waldensian customs, traditions, and celebrations as have their cousins in Valdese. They have been in America longer, they came by way of South America or in scattered groups from the valleys, and they have been joined by French-speaking natives of other countries. The church, surrounded by the farms of its members will, in all probability, still continue to serve as a center of the community and will keep alive the memory of the pioneers who sought freedom and happiness in a new and undeveloped country and who contributed much to the life of Barry County.

That their virtues have been appreciated and recognized is shown by the following lines from an editorial in the *Monett Times*, printed fifty-two years after the establishment of the colony: "These devout people have handed down to their posterity the same principles which impelled them to leave oppression for the sake of their religion, and the Waldensian people of this district are a law-abiding, sturdy people, ambitious to develop all their faculties to the glory of God and good citizenship. By their integrity, industry, loyalty to church, liberality to the needs of others, and high respect for the laws, they, the people of the Waldensian colony, cannot help but have a highly moral influence in the community in which they live."⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Feb. 2, 1927.

CHAPTER VIII

WOLF RIDGE, TEXAS

Certain members of the Barry County, Missouri, Waldensian colony left the settlement shortly after its founding to settle in Texas.¹ There is much uncertainty concerning the circumstances of this change of location. Data gleaned from the printed page and from the memories of descendants of the pioneers, their contemporaries, and one of their later pastors indicate that the train of events was somewhat as follows.

The leader of the movement, Barthélemy David Hugon, seems to have gone to Texas alone on a tour of exploration. He may have become interested in the possibilities of that state through the Reverend Willis L. Miller, who, it will be recalled, was instrumental in Solomon's decision to lead his flock to Missouri in 1875. Miller, who served as pastor of the Presbyterian church in Mount Vernon, Missouri, from 1874 to 1878, was located in Palo Pinto County, Texas, in 1879. The following year he was pastor of a Northern Presbyterian congregation in Gainesville, Cooke County. In view of his interest in the Barry County Waldenses it is probable that he kept in touch with some of them after leaving Missouri and that he encouraged Hugon to come to Northern Texas.

Finding conditions favorable, the latter returned to Missouri for his family and some of his friends. One authority states that the original party of migrants was made up of the families of Hugon and Paul Solomon, "in all fourteen persons."² Another mentions, in addition to these, J. Solomon, father of Paul, and Coisson as being members of the group.³ In the Hugon family there were twelve souls: Armand Barthélemy Hugon, a native of Lyons, France; his son Barthélemy David Hugon, born in Torre Pellice, April 5, 1833; the latter's wife, Judith Solomon Hugon, who had become engaged to Hugon in 1857 on the ship from Italy to Montevideo, where they

¹ See p. 63, above.

² *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, Jan. 19, 1898.

³ *Missouri Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1927), 636 ff. Mrs. J. Solomon is remembered by a former pastor of the Wolf Ridge Presbyterian Church, Dr. John V. McCall, who states: "Granny Solomon, the mother-in-law of 'Father' [B. D.] Hugon, was ninety-two years old when I received her into the Wolf Ridge Church" (letter to author, Sept. 9, 1940).

were married; and their nine children, Catherine, Bartholomew Armond, Paul, Annie, David, Mary, Lydia, and Pauline, all natives of Uruguay, and Esther, born in Missouri. Paul Solomon and wife had three children, Annette, Jean, and Paul. If Paul Solomon's parents accompanied him and the Hugons to Texas in 1879, nineteen persons composed the first group.

Different authorities state that the party went first to Fannin County, then to Grayson County, where they remained for about two years. Having heard that better land was available in Cooke County, they moved there, settling in a locality southwest of Gainesville, the county seat. Nearby was a Union Sunday School which the Waldenses attended. Occasionally they went to the Presbyterian church in Gainesville.⁴

In 1886 Hugon bought a farm in the Wolf Ridge community, about ten miles northwest of Gainesville. This section became the permanent seat of the Waldensian colony. On December 23, 1891, the Wolf Ridge Waldenses were joined by seven additional families who came direct from the Waldensian valleys. Their leader was David Garnier, a native of Villar Pellice, whose mother had been a girlhood friend of B. D. Hugon and who had kept in touch with him in the New World. David Garnier and his brother John Daniel had previously been in America, having once been shipwrecked in making a voyage to Martinique, and rescued by a ship which took them to New Orleans. From this city they worked their way to New York and returned to Italy with glowing tales and a determination to bring their families to the United States. David Garnier was accompanied by his wife Anne, nee Rostagnol, and his four daughters, Madeleine, Annie, Mary, and Jennie. The other families were John Daniel Garnier, his wife Marianne, and seven children, Madeleine, John, Daniel, Nannie, Annie, Mary, and David; J. D. Rivoire and wife Margaret and five children, John, Susie, Madeleine, Paul, and David; Jean S. Grand, brother-in-law of J. D. Rivoire, who later married Annie Solomon; Jean Vigne, his wife Mary and four children, Annie, John Peter, Susie, and Lena; T. B. Peyrot and wife Susie, and two children, John and Mary (two others, Henry and David, were born in America); and Étienne Gonnet, who remained but a year or two and then returned to Italy.

Three other families were members of the Texas Waldensian colony for a time. Of these there is little record. Coisson is believed

⁴ Information in this chapter for which no specific reference is indicated was furnished by Mrs. Hilda Hugon Cunningham, of Denton, Texas.

to have returned from Monett to Italy, thence back to Monett, and to Texas. He and his wife later returned to Monett and are buried in the Waldensian cemetery. Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Barolin, charter members of the Wolf Ridge Presbyterian Church, later bought land in Barry County, Missouri, and remained there until their death. A Jiordin family, consisting of the two parents and one daughter, came from the Waldensian valleys to Monett, whence they went shortly to Wolf Ridge.⁵

The Waldenses attended a Methodist and a Cumberland Presbyterian Sunday School in the locality. A few years after their establishment at Wolf Ridge the Waldenses aided in the construction of a Methodist church at some distance from their center. The Waldenses were offered the use of this church by the Methodists, but they preferred to worship in their own homes.⁶ Inasmuch as the older members did not understand the English language, they did not care to attend the services of the Methodist or the Cumberland Presbyterian bodies. In order that they might have ministrations in the French language Hugon, who had often led services in the Waldensian colony of Rosario Oriental, Uruguay, again took up the work and conducted worship in the various homes of the group. He continued this practice for some five or six years.

On January 11, 1896, the first wedding was held in the colony. On that date the Reverend G. A. Russell, D.D., pastor of the Southern Presbyterian Church in Gainesville, united in marriage David Hugon and Madeleine Garnier. As a result of this first contact with the Waldenses of Wolf Ridge, Dr. Russell became much interested in their spiritual welfare. He visited in their homes, preached once or twice in the Methodist church during the winter of 1896, and arranged to make the community schoolhouse a house of worship. Sunday School was held there every Sunday afternoon under the direction of B. D. and David Hugon.

On May 29, 1904, the Wolf Ridge Mission Sunday School was organized into the Wolf Ridge Presbyterian Church by the Reverend John M. Shive, then pastor of the Southern Presbyterian Church of Gainesville. The little body of Waldenses built a small frame church "entirely without missionary aid."⁷ Of the forty charter members, twenty-six were perhaps Waldenses. B. D. Hugon and J. D. Garnier were named elders, and the former's eldest son, Bartholomew Armond, and J. D. Rivoire were appointed deacons. Elder Hugon required

⁵ Letter from T. A. Mermoud, of Monett, Mo., to author, Sept. 11, 1940.

⁶ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, Jan. 19, 1898.

⁷ *The Continent*, Oct. 30, 1913.

much persuasion to become a Presbyterian, not understanding how "he could be a Presbyterian and a Waldensian at the same time." In accordance with the Waldensian tradition Hugon took his duties of elder most seriously. "Every Sunday afternoon he visited in the homes of his seven or eight families and catechized the children, to ascertain to what extent each family carried on the work of the Church with respect to indoctrinating the children and the memorizing of the Bible."⁸

The following ministers have labored in the Wolf Ridge Presbyterian Church: the Reverend John M. Shive, the Reverend H. M. Perkins, Dr. John V. McCall, the Reverend W. A. Nisbet, the Reverend E. H. Moseley, and Dr. T. M. Cunningham. All were at the same time pastors of the Southern Presbyterian Church of Gainesville, and preached twice a month in English. On the other Sundays the Sunday School work was conducted by the church officers. At the present time the church "has lost very much of its vitality and is being supplied by various ministers."

The colonists engaged almost exclusively in agriculture, and, if one can accept the statements of *The Continent*, became "remarkably prosperous." This publication asserted: "The original families have multiplied largely in their descendants, and it is said that none of the several clans is worth less than \$10,000 in real estate, while the average wealth is much greater than this."⁹ As early as 1898 all but two families, it is said, owned their farms of a total acreage of eighteen hundred. Two families were paying a third of their harvest of wheat, oats, and corn and a quarter of their cotton as rent.¹⁰ These accounts are exaggerated, according to descendants of the colonists, one of whom says: "None of us ever had or will have much of this world's goods."

During the summer of 1913 the Wolf Ridge congregation was visited by Dr. Alberto Clot, American representative of the Waldensian Church of Italy. He "held for it a communion service, according to the Waldensian liturgy. It was the first touch which the senior members of the church had had with their native land in all the years since their arrival in America."¹¹ At that time Dr. John V. McCall was pastor. All the expenses of the organization were being met by the Waldenses, for it never was "in any sense a missionary one."¹² At the time of Dr. Clot's visit a photograph of the congregation was made and printed in *The Continent*.

⁸ Letter of Dr. John V. McCall to author, Sept. 9, 1940.

⁹ Oct. 30, 1913.

¹⁰ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, Jan. 19, 1898.

¹¹ *The Continent*, loc. cit.

¹² *Ibid.*

In 1908 the official organ of the Waldensian Church predicted that the small group of Wolf Ridge Waldenses would soon become assimilated with the American population. It stated that it would be satisfied if the colony became entirely Americanized in respect to language, customs, and activity, provided that its members would "remain faithful to the faith of their fathers."¹³ Even though early intermarriage among native Americans and Waldenses took place, the colony and church maintained their Waldensian characteristics for many years. For a while the church "was one of the most thriving little country churches in the Synod." It once entertained Dallas Presbytery.

The patriarch of the Texas Waldenses, B. D. Hugon, remained their spiritual head and a faithful attendant of all the church services until his death in 1915. According to *The Christian Observer*, "He was one of the noblest and truest servants of God."¹⁴

Even though several Waldenses are living in this region today, "the colony of Wolf Ridge is no more: there are only a few surviving members of the original colonizers. The second generation has married or moved, or become absorbed in the community and has lost its distinctiveness."

At about the beginning of the present century an offshoot of the Wolf Ridge colony established itself in Haskell County, Texas. The first family to go there was that of Victor J. Josselette, a native of Belgium, and his wife, Catherine Hugon Josselette. They joined the Methodist Church and brought up a large family, many of their children and grandchildren becoming ardent workers in that Church. They were followed by John S. Grand and wife, Annie Solomon Grand; Paul Solomon and his wife, Mary Garnier Solomon; and Paul's brother John and his wife, Annie Garnier Solomon.

The original colonists of Texas and their descendants have scattered widely. They have occupied positions of responsibility in many fields. The present whereabouts of all is not known, but mention of those American citizens of Waldensian stock of whom there is a record will be found in the Appendix.¹⁵

¹³ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, loc. cit.

¹⁴ Oct. 6, 1915, p. 22.

¹⁵ See Appendix, pp. 236-238.

CHAPTER IX

VALDESE, NORTH CAROLINA

The largest and most important Waldensian colony in North America is Valdese, Burke County, North Carolina, whose first settlers arrived from the Waldensian valleys on May 29, 1893. Valdese lies among the hills which slope eastward from the Blue Ridge Mountains. The land is rolling, with many small streams. To the north is the Catawba River, beyond which rise the mountains. To the east are the hills of the Piedmont section of North Carolina. A low range, known as South Mountain, with the peaks of Mineral Springs Mountain and High Peak, limits the view to the south. The Blue Ridge, with picturesque Table Rock, affords a beautiful panorama to the west. U. S. Highway 70 (in 1893 called the Hickory Road) and the Southern Railway line from Salisbury to Asheville pass through Valdese.

In the early 1890's the Waldensian valleys were again becoming overcrowded and many families were desirous of emigrating. Some went to the thriving colonies in South America, while others came to the United States to join their friends in Missouri or Utah, or to settle in the larger cities. A number of families wished to leave the valleys to locate in some undeveloped area where the cost of land would be less than in the established colonies.¹

This fact came to the attention of an American capitalist and landowner of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Morganton, North Carolina, Marvin F. Scaife. It is not known just when and how Scaife first became interested in the Waldenses. Perhaps he met the representative of the Waldensian Church, Dr. Teofilo Gay, when the latter was traveling in America and collecting funds for the Committee of Evangelization.² Some have claimed that Dr. Gay wore a Masonic emblem which was noticed by Scaife and which served as a basis of introduction while the two gentlemen were on a train from St. Louis to New York. Others have maintained that Scaife first learned of the Waldenses' plan to migrate while in Europe. He visited Europe fre-

¹ This and much of the following data were furnished by citizens of Valdese, notably Messrs. Antoine Grill, L. P. Guigou, J. D. Guigou, Albert Garrou, the Reverend John Pons, and Mrs. Jean Garrou.

² See Morganton *Herald*, June 8, 1893; Asheville *Citizen-Times*, Feb. 7, 1937; S. S. Poet, *A Waldensian Colony in the United States, Valdese, N. C.* (1940), p. 3.

quently, since his aunt owned property in France, Germany, and Italy.³ Furthermore, it has been stated that he met in Rome a lady of quality, the Countess Mumpian,⁴ who told him of the Waldenses and their desire to find lands for colonization purposes. If this is true, it is altogether probable that the lady was Mrs. Sophia V. Bompiani, author of *A Short History of the Italian Waldenses*. She was of American birth and she and her husband were members of the Waldensian Church.⁵

Material which has apparently hitherto been overlooked shows that the idea of sending a group of settlers to North Carolina originated in Rome. *Le Témoign*, official organ of the Waldensian Church, reported on November 24, 1892, that the chairman of the Committee of Evangelization, Dr. Matteo Prochet, "received one day in Rome a visit from an American gentleman who discussed the project with him."⁶ Moreover, in the same publication is a statement by Dr. Charles Albert Tron, who led the first group to North Carolina, that the venture was initiated in Rome by the Reverend Mr. Buffa, pastor of the Waldensian Church. "It was to him," wrote Dr. Tron, "that Mr. Scaife addressed himself when he was in Rome, and it was with him that he remained for a long time in correspondence about the conditions of sale. It was Mr. Buffa who wrote to Dr. Gay when the latter was in America, in order that he might go to the spot and see how things were."⁷ This Dr. Gay did, examining the proffered lands and lecturing in Morganton.⁸

By combining the material in these contemporary accounts and the statements in print and by word of mouth of those who know the beginnings of the colony, it seems probable that the train of events was somewhat as follows. While in Rome, Scaife was told by Mrs. Bompiani of the needs of the Waldenses. He then went to Pastor Buffa, who recommended that he get in touch with Dr. Prochet. Meanwhile Buffa wrote to Dr. Gay, suggesting that he go to Morganton to examine the property which Scaife and his associates were offering for sale.

By November, 1892, the plans for the proposed colony were already well under way. In the first above-mentioned article, *Le Témoign* printed an account of a meeting held in the church of San Germano at which the project was outlined to a large crowd gathered "from all

³ Francis Ghigo, *The Provençal Speech of the Waldensian Colonists in North Carolina* (University of North Carolina Master's thesis, 1937).

⁴ Greensboro News; reprinted in Morganton News-Herald, Nov. 17, 1933.

⁵ Ghigo, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Le Témoign*, Nov. 24, 1892, p. 381.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1894, p. 17.

⁸ Morganton Herald, June 8, 1893.

parts of the Valleys, especially from the Valley of San Germano." Dr. Prochet, who presided at the assembly, explained his conversations with Scaife in Rome and his correspondence with Dr. Gay. He expressed the opinion that the plan was feasible under certain conditions. The colonists would have to understand that they would have to work as hard in America as in Italy, and that they must found a family of Waldenses and not depart in hopes of making fortunes through speculation.

Dr. C. A. Tron, pastor of the church of San Germano, then took the floor. The other Waldensian ministers who were interested in the proposed colony had named him temporary chairman of a colonization committee; he, too, had been for some time in correspondence with Scaife and the other owners of the property in North Carolina. He stated that the land was in the western part of North Carolina, in the central part of the many chains which make up the Blue Ridge Mountains. It lay in Yancey and McDowell counties. It was then owned by the Farmers' Company, which had recently acquired the tract of more than one hundred thousand acres from the North Carolina Investment Company. The company was unwilling to divide the property, but would sell it as a whole to the committee of the colonists. On the land there was a hotel at Round Knob on the railway line between Old Fort and Black Mountain. This hotel was to serve as a temporary lodging for the colonists upon their arrival. Other wooden buildings were to be erected for them by the company. The tract was offered for two hundred and fifty thousand francs, payment to be completed in twenty years. The Farmers' Company would serve as a bank and would provide the necessary food and animals during the first year. The new purchasers were to carry out the company's contract with the tanneries of Asheville, whereby large quantities of oak bark were to be delivered annually. On the land there were large growths of standing timber, for which there was said to be a ready market, especially for oak railroad ties. Abundant water power would turn the colony mills. The area was declared to be suitable for the cultivation of the vine and tobacco. "There are bears (not terrible), wild cats, geese, and trout in abundance." The colony should have a pastor, a doctor, a surveyor, and a schoolmaster. The costs of transportation would amount to about two hundred francs a colonist. "It would be very desirable that they should be provided with some money on their arrival."

Dr. Tron read a provisional contract which had been forwarded by the Farmers' Company. He then submitted a set of regulations which

were approved after some discussion. These called for the naming of a committee of nine to manage the colony, which was to be a co-operative enterprise during the first years in America. Later, the land would be divided, and the expenses for taxes, interest, and subscriptions to pay the pastor and doctor would be apportioned among the purchasers of land. It was voted to send a representative to North Carolina to examine the property. He was to be assisted by several Waldenses from the Monett colony who would be well acquainted with the language, customs, and value of American land. It was announced that one hundred and fifty families hoped to go to North Carolina, of whom about one third were ready to leave during the spring of 1893. They were admonished by *Le Témoign* to await with patience the return of the delegate, and were warned against selling their farms in the valleys prematurely.⁹

A few weeks later *Le Témoign* printed a letter from Captain Camperio, a well-known Waldensian traveler and explorer, who advised those interested to be cautious. He asserted that the best lands in America were already under cultivation or in the hands of speculators who sold their holdings at high prices and had no interest in the well-being of the colonists. He considered the price too high, the conditions too rigorous, and predicted that if his people sold their farms and went to North Carolina they would be faced with disappointments. "If indeed they insist on leaving," he wrote, "let them turn their faces toward Eritrea, this new Italy so slandered by the ignorant."¹⁰ The skepticism of Captain Camperio was shared by *Le Témoign*, which, on several occasions, advised that the disadvantages and hardships of the venture be well weighed.¹¹ Dr. Tron refused to enter into controversy with the critics of the proposed plan, explaining in *Le Témoign* that he had kept silent in order to give those concerned "full and entire liberty and responsibility in the choice which they are called upon to make to improve their social condition."¹²

The committee was active during late 1892 and early 1893, formulating plans and keeping in touch with the landowners. Other meetings of those planning to emigrate were held,¹³ and in March, 1893, two representatives, Jean Bounous and Louis Richard, were sent to North Carolina. They arrived in Morganton about March 20. They knew no English and were not accompanied by any members of the Monett colony. They took dinner on arrival at the local hotel, the Hunt

⁹ Nov. 24, 1892, p. 381.

¹⁰ *Le Témoign*, Dec. 15, 1892, p. 51.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, April 13, 1893, p. 124; June 29, 1893, p. 106.

¹² *Ibid.*, March 23, 1893, p. 86.

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1893, p. 111.

House, but did not register. The news of their arrival, however, spread rapidly in Morganton. They were taken to the Piedmont Bank, whose officers were later to play an important part in the launching of the colony. The bank sent a messenger to the law offices of W. C. Ervin, who was known to be much interested in the Waldenses, and was for many years their trusted friend and adviser. Ervin summoned Émile Frisard, a French gentleman of some means, who had built a home in Morganton. Frisard took charge of the delegates, entertaining them in his home, and driving them with his fine horses, of which he had a large stable, to the site which had been offered for the colony. Bounous and Richard found the tract quite unsuitable for their needs, "its mountainous and rocky nature not being adapted to agriculture or farming."¹⁴ They refused to accept the property and requested to be shown other lands. Frisard drove them daily to different locations. They decided that the most advantageous tract was located in Burke County, about eight miles east of Morganton. The property available there was owned by the Morganton Land and Improvement Company, of which Scaife was president. In the words of the representatives it was "if not a Canaan, at least such that the cultivation of tobacco, wheat, corn, oats, and especially the vine would be successful."¹⁵

A great deal of interest was displayed by the state in the visit of the Waldensian envoys, who were reported to be "men of intelligence, thoroughly posted to the needs of their people." They received invitations to visit other sections of the state. The pastor of the Winston Lutheran Church, the Reverend W. A. Lutz, urged the Chamber of Commerce of that city to bring them to Forsyth County, where they might be interested in the opportunities for industrial employment. The *Charlotte Observer* printed a long editorial, extending a welcome to the Waldenses and pointing out that Mecklenburg County with its need of labor in the textile mills would be a most suitable location for a settlement.¹⁶ The delegates did not have time to visit other localities. They sent a telegram to the valleys, "certifying that the lands were good,"¹⁷ and sailed from New York on March 29, 1893.¹⁸

Tron called a meeting of the future colonists on March 31. A permanent committee, of which he was president, was named. Twenty-five families were said to be ready to depart.¹⁹ Ten days later Bounous and Richard were present at a large assembly held in the church of Pomaretto. They reported their choice of the Burke County location,

¹⁴ *Le Témoign*, April 13, 1893, p. 124.

¹⁵ March 13, 1893.

¹⁶ *Morganton Herald*, March 30, 1893.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Le Témoign*, April 6, 1893, p. 111.

¹⁹ *Le Témoign*, April 6, 1893, p. 111.

announcing pure air, good water, good roads, and fair markets at Morganton and Connelly Springs. They were not as enthusiastic as had been expected.²⁰ Richard was opposed to the plan, but Bounous spoke in favor of it. To those who asked him if he would join the party of emigrants he replied: "I'm going, but I'm not going now."²¹ Great disappointment was felt by the Waldenses on learning that their delegates were not unanimously in favor of establishing a colony in North Carolina. Some of those now living in Valdese recall the tears which were shed at this meeting, especially by those who had already sold their farms. *Le Témoign* exhorted all those involved to "know well where they were bound before they left," fearing that those who had sold their property in the valleys might be exposing themselves to a most uncertain future.²²

On the tenth of April Dr. Tron announced that seventeen families planned to leave toward the end of the month, and that eight families were already in America. He reported fifteen other families on the list for departure in the fall.²³

In May the first detachment, led by Dr. Tron, departed from Turin for Boulogne-sur-Mer. After a wait of six days in this port they embarked on the steamship *Zaandam* of the Holland-American Line. The ship, with twelve hundred steerage passengers on board, arrived in New York on May 26. The sea voyage was "long and difficult," but once in New York they found a cordial welcome from Scaife, who had completed arrangements for their transportation to Burke County. They were put on board a steamer of the Old Dominion Line and transported "almost free" to West Point, Virginia, whence they were afforded free carriage to their destination by the Richmond and Danville Railroad.²⁴ Perhaps this generous act by the railroad company was the result of a conference which Governor Carr of North Carolina had summoned in the executive offices in Raleigh on May 19, 1893: he had invited several representatives of transportation companies, including a Mr. Tuck of the Richmond and Danville, and had secured their promise to co-operate with him in encouraging immigration to the state.²⁵

The party arrived at what is now Valdese during the afternoon of Monday, May 29. They found that arrangements had been made for

²⁰ *Ibid.*, April 13, 1893, p. 124.

²¹ Statement of Antoine Grill, of Valdese.

²² *Le Témoign*, April 13, 1893, p. 124. ²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1893, p. 136. See Morganton *Herald*, June 1, 1893.

²⁵ *Hickory Press and Carolinian*, May 23, 1893.

their coming and that "a large number of their friends were there to bid them welcome." According to a statement in the first entry of the colonial records, "the impression which we received could not have been more favorable."²⁶ Hardly had they alighted from the train when they assembled around a table in a solemn service of thanksgiving. Dr. Tron read to them Psalm CIII and bade them to be always faithful to the Lord. The service closed with a hymn and a prayer, "frequently interrupted by the tears of the brethren and sisters."²⁷ Of the first afternoon in Valdese their leader wrote: "The arrival produced a profound emotion. In spite of the enthusiastic reception of many warm friends, finding themselves thus alone in the midst of woods, far from the native country, impressed in an extraordinary manner the minds of the immigrants, who did not hesitate to bend their knees in thanks to God, and invoke His favor for the newborn colony. To see all the bared heads and the weeping women and children was a scene which cannot be forgotten."²⁸

This first contingent of twenty-nine souls who were to prepare the ground for the coming of many other colonists included eleven men, not counting Dr. Tron, five women, and thirteen children. The oldest was J. Henri Tron, forty-four, from Massello, who later removed to a farm near White Pine, Tennessee, where he died in 1907. The youngest head of a family was François Tron*, eighteen, from Prali, who brought his bride of a few months, Marguerite. Jean Refour*, forty-two, brought one son, Jean* from Faët, Parish of Ville Sèche. Jean Guigou, forty-one, and wife Catherine* from Prali brought three boys, Louis Philippe*, Étienne, and Alexis*, and one girl Naomi. To them was born on August 13 the first child of the colony, Charles Guigou*, now living in Richmond, Virginia. Pierre Tron, thirty-nine, and wife Louise from Massello had one son Albert* and one daughter Madeleine*. Philippe Richard*, thirty-three, from Prali, was accompanied by his wife Marianne Louise* and two children, Philippe* and Étienne*. This family left Valdese after a short stay and located in Norfolk, Virginia, where they now live. Jaubert Micol came from Massello with his wife Jeanne, three sons, Jean*, Emanuel*, and Victor*, and one daughter Marguerite*. Albert Pons*, thirty-five, from Massello, and J. Henri Tron came without their families, who joined them in August. Jean Giraud, thirty-four, from Massello returned the following year to the Waldensian valleys. Jean Henri Pons*, thirty, and

²⁶ *Livre des Procès Verbaux et des Documents se référant à la Fondation de la Valdese Corporation, 1893-1894*, No. 1, p. 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Tourn, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

François Pons*, both from Rodoretto and unmarried, soon returned to Italy, but later rejoined the colony.²⁹

The train had stopped at about the foot of what is now called Italy Street. Nearby was the Brick House. This and one or two small wooden shacks were the only buildings in the center. At some distance a few farmhouses had recently been purchased by the Morganton Land and Improvement Company so that there might be shelter for the colonists. The whole party spent the first night in the Brick House, sleeping on the floors in the rooms and halls of this frame building.

The coming of the Waldenses had aroused a great deal of interest on the part of the citizens of North Carolina. Not only had there been many citizens of Burke County on hand to welcome them, but also the passing of their train through North Carolina cities had drawn crowds of the interested to the stations.³⁰ The newspapers of the state were unanimous in commending the steamship and railway lines for their generosity and in expressing satisfaction that the colonists had chosen the state for their new home. The *Charlotte Observer*, for example, declared: "If North Carolina could have had the privilege conferred on her of selecting from all Europe the people she would most desire for immigrants, there is no spot she would quicker have placed her finger upon than the Waldensian Colony on the south side of the Alps of Northern Italy. The *Observer* welcomes the Waldenses to the Old North State."³¹

There were many misconceptions on the part of the public and the press in reference to the Waldenses. It is said that when some of the inhabitants of the locality learned that the prospective settlers were Italians they met and prayed that their ship might sink. When they saw the newcomers and learned of their deeply religious nature they again assembled and knelt in prayer, giving thanks to God for their safe journey.³² Some newspapers stated that the first contingent was the advance guard of two thousand who were to come during the year.³³ Others emphasized their belief that the Waldenses were primarily wine producers who would make that industry, "for which their lands are adapted," their specialty.³⁴ It was said that the colonists

²⁹ An asterisk indicates those living on Feb. 17, 1940. See Poet, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 f.

³⁰ *Hickory Press and Carolinian*, June 1, 1893.

³¹ June 5, 1893.

³² *Asheville Citizen-Times*, Feb. 7, 1937.

³³ *Press and Carolinian*, April 6, 1893.

³⁴ *Morganton Herald*, June 1, 1893.

had left Italy because of religious persecutions.³⁵ The *Hickory Press and Carolinian* remarked on June 1, 1893: "We look forward to great improvements to be set on foot and carried out by these hard-working and sturdy children of the Alps. The hills will no doubt be covered with vines and the valleys blossom as the rose. Wonder if they will vote our ticket? The South Mountains have generally been a Republican stronghold."³⁶ Much attention was given to the history of the Waldenses and their religious principles and training. The *Charlotte Observer* asserted on June 8: "It is a cardinal decree that every child among them shall be taught to memorize one book of the Bible, so that if the Sacred Text were utterly destroyed among men they could reproduce it *verbatim*. This custom, originating in the days of persecution, is still observed in all its first force."³⁷ The *Morganton Herald*, in an editorial of June 1, admired the intelligence and love of learning of the colonists: "All the little Waldensian children are taught to read and write at a very early age, and their knowledge of the Scriptures would put to shame many of our church people of maturer years. They speak French and Italian very fluently and are apparently very bright and intelligent, and are very anxious to learn the language of their new country. The Waldenses would never have come to North Carolina but for the fact that they were assured that here they would be surrounded by friends who would in every way aid them to make the colony a success."³⁸

Some of these enthusiastic remarks of the North Carolina press were forwarded to *Le Témoign*. It reprinted many paragraphs from the *Morganton Herald* with the comment that the information concerning the Waldenses was "curious and hitherto unpublished." It concluded: "And it is thus that one writes ancient and contemporary history. The errors with which this article swarms—and especially its bombastic style are well fitted to fortify us in our reserve."³⁹

The *Advance*, official organ of the Congregational Church, in an article "Report on the Mountain Work" announced the transplanting of the colony from the mountains of Italy to the mountains of North Carolina and predicted that it would be reinforced during the autumn by "the addition of several thousands."⁴⁰

The colonists spent their first week in Burke County arranging temporary lodgings and exploring their new surroundings. On see-

³⁵ *Press and Carolinian*, March 30, 1893.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1893.

³⁷ June 8, 1893.

³⁸ June 29, 1893, p. 106.

³⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ Nov. 2, 1893, p. 811.

ing their lands so heavily wooded and so ill adapted for their immediate needs, some were severely disillusioned. One woman of the first party, still living in Valdese, recalls her tears and her children's efforts to comfort her in her homesickness for the valleys. Meanwhile their leader was busily engaged in Morganton with the officers of the Morganton Land and Improvement Company and other leading citizens of the community. Dr. Tron's chief adviser was William C. Ervin, attorney. Others were Isaac Avery, attorney, S. T. Pearson, cashier of the Piedmont Bank, and the Reverend John M. Rose, Jr., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. Dr. Tron wished to buy the whole tract in the name of the colony, but Scaife was in favor of forming a corporation. Dr. Tron's acceptance of this arrangement was, in the opinion of Pastor Barthélemy Soulier, who, a year later, came to Valdese, the first "fundamental error" on his part. Mr. Soulier insists that Dr. Tron "knew so well the character of the Waldenses, one hundred per cent individualists, and should never have permitted it."⁴¹

On June 8, 1893, the corporation was formed, and the letters of incorporation were filed that day with the clerk of the Superior Court of Burke County. The incorporators were: Charles Albert Tron, Isaac T. Avery, Marvin F. Scaife, William C. Ervin, and Samuel T. Pearson. The corporate name was The Valdese Corporation. It was empowered to engage in the following businesses: to buy and sell real and personal property; to own, hold, control, improve, and develop its real estate; to lease or bond mineral interests in lands; to conduct any and all mining operations; to conduct and operate sawmills and do any and all things necessary for carrying on a lumber business; to build any kinds of factories; to act as immigrant agents and colonize their lands; to do any or all things necessary to promote or conduct the colony; and to borrow money and issue coupon bonds or other evidence of indebtedness and secure the same by mortgage or deed of trust on any or all its property. The duration of the corporation was to be sixty years. The capital stock was \$25,000, divided into shares of \$100 each, with the privilege of increasing the stock by an amount not exceeding \$5,000. The stockholders were not to be individually liable for the debts, contracts, or torts. A board of directors was named, whose members were: Charles A. Tron, President; the pastor who should replace Dr. Tron, Vice-President; Philippe Richard*, Secretary; Samuel T. Pearson, Treasurer; Messrs. Jaubert Micol; Albert Pons*; the Reverend John M. Rose, Jr.; and W. C. Ervin*.⁴²

⁴¹ Letter of Mr. Soulier to author, May 30, 1939.

⁴² Letters of Incorporation of the Valdese Corporation. See *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, pp. 3 f. An asterisk indicates those living on Feb. 17, 1940.

On the same day a deed from the Morganton Land and Improvement Company to the Valdese Corporation was registered by the clerk of the Superior Court of Burke County, and, on June 24, was filed by the register of deeds. For the sum of \$25,000, "the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged," the land company conveyed seven tracts of land in Burke County, known as the Sudderth and Ervin South Mountain Speculation, the Brick House Place, the Fulbright land, and four other tracts which had been sold to the company in 1892 and 1893, "all of said tracts containing by estimation 10,000 acres more or less." The deed was signed for the company by its president and secretary.⁴⁸

The following day the clerk of the Superior Court acknowledged the execution of an indenture made by the Valdese Corporation and signed by its president and secretary to the Morganton Land and Improvement Company and the Piedmont Bank. Herein it was set forth that the Valdese Corporation was indebted to the land company in the sum of \$25,000. In order to secure payment of this sum, the Valdese Corporation, by a unanimous vote of its stockholders and an order given by its board of directors, had issued two hundred and fifty bonds of one hundred dollars each, payable within twenty years and bearing 5 per cent interest. The payment of the bonds and interest was to be secured by the conveyance of the lands of the corporation. To the Piedmont Bank, serving as trustee for the land company, the Valdese Corporation conveyed all the lands sold by the company, as well as all its personal property and effects, including the steam sawmill, its fixtures and implements, and all the mules, wagons, carts, and cattle then on the land. If the bonds and interest were not paid, it was to be the duty of the trustee to sell the property at public auction. The bonds were redeemable on thirty days' notice, and upon such redemption the bank was to release "such a part of the property—as may seem fair and equitable,—provided no greater portion of acres shall be so released than the amount of bonds so redeemed shall bear to the whole amount of acreage." The Valdese Corporation agreed to use every honest endeavor to increase the colony, make it permanent, keep its members satisfied and prosperous, remain on the land, and improve it. To this end it was given free use and occupation of the lands with the right to cultivate them, and to receive rents and profits therefrom. Furthermore, it was given permission to mine the lands and to sell the timber and standing wood. The trustee was to supervise these operations, and, if at any time, the timber and wood sold

⁴⁸ Burke County, Register of Deeds, X, 348.

and the profits realized were greater than the amount of redeemed bonds, was to take possession of the unreleased portions of land and to stop the removal of timber and lumber until additional bonds were released. This indenture was filed and registered by the register of deeds on June 24, 1893.⁴⁴

Concerning these arrangements, which may well have seemed incomprehensible to the colonists, Dr. Tron wrote in a letter to the Moderator of the Waldensian Church, J. P. Pons, on the twelfth of June: "At last I have been able to make the contract. I cannot tell you all the anxieties; I believe they have aged me by ten years. But little matter, now that it is done, and, I hope, well done.—I have had the services of a lawyer for the contract, so there need be no fear.—The country is charming, the climate delightful, and the people of a truly admirable friendliness. We have no idea of the extent represented by ten or twelve thousand acres. It is so vast that we are almost lost. We are starting a little city and soon we shall have a post office and a railway station. There is room for at least 200 families."⁴⁵

After the completion of the legal and financial arrangements Dr. Tron set about to resolve the many problems which faced his little flock. He summoned the colonists in almost daily meetings, recording in French, in his own handwriting, the actions taken in a register which bears the title: *Livre des Procès Verbaux et des Documents se référant à la Fondation de la Valdese Corporation, 1893-1894*. Fortunately these records were continued by the successors of Dr. Tron, so that the session of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church of Valdese now possesses the almost unbroken history of the colony and the church from the beginnings to the present day.

The first problem to be decided was the division of the harvest and the planted fields. On June 16, after the evening worship, the colonists met in the room in the Brick House used for religious services and signed, in order of seniority, an agreement whereby all the men who should be on the spot by the first of August should share one half of the crops, to be divided in equal parts, no consideration being made for the profession or work of the individual, "all being members of the same family." The other half of the crops should be divided among the men, women, and children. Two children under twelve years of age were reckoned as one adult.⁴⁶

Three days later, after prayer and an English lesson by Dr. Tron, an important meeting was held, attended by nearly all the colonists.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 351.

⁴⁵ *Le Témoin*, June 29, 1893, p. 106.

⁴⁶ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 5.

The first problem concerned tools and animals. It was decided that every family should be provided with one cow and the necessary tools, such as plows, hoes, and shovels. One mule should be given every four families. The money to purchase these was to be requested from the Morganton Land and Improvement Company and guaranteed by the bonds of the corporation. The most important step taken at this meeting was the adoption of twenty-three regulations which had been drawn up by Dr. Tron. After carefully examining the paper, nine heads of families bound themselves, "before God," to observe the regulations which were to be the basis of the colony.⁴⁷

The document begins as follows: "Inasmuch as we are Christians and belong to the Waldensian family, blessed and miraculously preserved by Almighty God, we will strive to be witnesses of the Truth through our conduct, our words, our activity, and our entire lives. We will strive to leave a good impression on all our neighbors and the citizens of this state who have received us with open arms, and who expect much from us, considering our Church as something miraculous. We promise to submit ourselves to the decisions of the directors and especially to the pastor, who is the president of the board, accepting his counsels, and, if necessary, his reprimands and censure." The twenty additional articles provided for the distribution of the lands and the crops, the labor on the community enterprises, the establishment of a colony store, and the medical services in case of illness.⁴⁸

From that day until the dissolution of the corporation about one and a half years later the colony was operated as a co-operative enterprise. In this experiment the Waldenses had the example of the early Christians who also "had all things common."⁴⁹

On June 20 bread was baked for the first time in an oven constructed by Jacques Tron, Albert Pons, and Jean Refour, who did the masonry work, and Pierre Tron, the carpentry work. This stone oven was similar to the one still standing on the farm of Mr. Albert Pons.⁵⁰ The bread was made by Pierre Tron and Jean Guigou and his wife, and was judged satisfactory by all. This happy event was considered to be "a benediction of the Lord."⁵¹

On the same day the colonists met to divide the property. The lands round the colony center were partitioned into ten lots, given names famous in Waldensian history, and assigned to the different families. Three lots, totaling about sixteen acres, bore the name of

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-11.

⁵⁰ Poet, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁴⁹ *Acts* 2:44. See Poet, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵¹ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 12.

Valdese and were allotted to Jean Guigou, Philippe Richard, and Pierre Tron. Their total valuation was \$1,716. A lot of about twenty-five acres to the east of Valdese, valued at \$1,380, was named Reynaud and divided among Jaubert Micol, François Tron, and C. A. Tron. A lot of about twenty-five acres, called Gardiole and valued at \$1,380, was allocated to Jean Refour, Jean Henri Pons, and François Pons. A lot known as Balsille, containing about seventeen acres valued at \$1,008, was taken by Albert Pons, Jacques Tron, and Jean Giraud. Albert Pons secured three other plots known as Prangins, Rochas, and Pradutour, the total valuation being \$715. A lot near Rutherford College, called Italie, was assigned to Charles A. Tron for \$200.⁵²

The next day the colonists assembled again after evening service. During the day they had examined their property and had found that some slight modifications in the land division were necessary. These changes were made without dissension. Most of the property contained much more acreage than was originally believed. At the same meeting the members voted to allow Charles Albert Tron and Albert Pons to purchase the Deal farm of two hundred acres at the rate of two hundred francs for the cultivated acres and two dollars for the others. This arrangement was to serve as a basis for further land dealings for the colonists and those who should join them.⁵³

On June 23 Dr. Tron introduced several measures in view of his early departure for his own parish in Italy. On his recommendation the group voted to elect a vice-president who should represent the colonists in all legal matters. In order that there might be "a more liberal guarantee" they decided to ask the board of directors to elect the Reverend John M. Rose, Jr., pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Morganton, to this post. At his coming the new pastor from the Waldensian valleys was to assume the post of vice-president, without, however, having charge of the business of the colony. After this decision had been reached, the colony passed the following resolution: "The colony, believing that its love for the Waldensian Church can never diminish, although separated from it by the seas, unanimously resolves that it will always be one with the Mother Church, and to show its desire and its will, votes the following regulation in order that it may have a Waldensian pastor. For the year 1893 it will furnish the necessary flour and vegetables. For the year 1894 each communicant member will furnish one dollar and the flour for bread. For 1895, two dollars for each communicant." Dr. Tron was charged to do all that he could to

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

secure a pastor and to make arrangements so that he might come. He was to communicate with various churches and committees in America which might be interested in the colony. At the same meeting it was decided to keep the oxen and mules in common, putting them under the care of some of the colonists and requiring each member to contribute yearly a certain amount of hay for their sustenance.⁵⁴

After the evening service on Sunday, June 25, the colonists met again and assigned three tracts of fifty acres each of mountain land to Albert Pons, Pierre Tron, and Jacques Tron. C. A. Tron took two hundred acres round the sawmill and the road leading to it. Jean Henri Pons took fifty in the same locality.⁵⁵

The following day an evening meeting was held at which further allotments of land were made and colony officers were elected. Albert Pons was named vice-president in charge of the affairs of the colony during the absence of a pastor. Pierre Tron was elected treasurer. In behalf of the colony the pastor welcomed nine new colonists: Antoine Martinat, his wife Anne Marie and six children, and Jacques Cardon had recently arrived from Utah. By a vote of seven out of nine Antoine Martinat was elected elder of the colony. The meeting closed with a prayer in favor of the newly arrived colonists.⁵⁶

During the week of June 25, Dr. Tron went to Asheville, where he described the new colony to the congregation of the Presbyterian Church. He received an enthusiastic welcome; the lecture was a complete success and was "a great encouragement for the president of the colony."⁵⁷

On June 29 he communicated to the colony several letters, among them one from the Reverend Filippo Grilli, of Chicago, in which the latter gave the people to understand that he would consider a call to become pastor.⁵⁸

Two days later it was reported that explorations around High Peak had revealed two new pieces of cultivated land. Dr. Tron spoke of another farm in the same region that could be developed with a view to settlement by the new members expected in the fall.⁵⁹

A love feast at which all members, young and old, took part was held before the colony assembly on July 1. Dr. Tron reported that "joy and happiness ruled in all hearts, so completely did this Christian family feel itself under the eyes of the Master." He announced the departure of Jacques Cardon for New York. The colony decided to set

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

aside a tract of land along the Morganton Road at the top of the hill of Valdese, one hundred and twenty meters long and forty-two wide, to be used for the church, manse, pastor's garden, and cemetery. The adjoining property was to be reserved for the pastor's use.⁶⁰

On the following day, Sunday, July 2, Dr. Tron conducted a service of the Lord's Supper, consecration, baptism, and farewell. He baptized Amélie Martinat, born in Utah, the first child of the colony to be consecrated. He then preached a sermon in which he recommended the colony to God and to His Word. He reported to the congregation \$123.04 in the corporation treasury and \$135.25 in the church and school fund.⁶¹

In accordance with the wishes of the colonists Dr. Tron, before leaving for Europe, had had interviews and correspondence with the representatives of American churches and societies interested in the opportunity for missionary work in Valdese.⁶² He had early got in touch with the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, which had done considerable work in the North Carolina mountains. Through its secretary, C. J. Ryder, the association promised fifty dollars a month toward the support of a pastor, and a small contribution for a schoolmaster.⁶³

On his departure Tron carried a letter, signed by the twelve heads of families of the colony and stamped with the seal of the Valdese Corporation, addressed to the editor of *Le Témoin*. Their long journey, their cordial reception, and their impressions upon arriving were described. Of the outlook for the future they wrote: "The climate is of the best, and if sometimes it becomes hot the coolness of the night soon comes to correct all by giving us good repose. The landscape of the country is charming. The hills recall to us our dear Valleys, but with the difference that one can reach their summits with a two-horse carriage. Farewell back-baskets, fagots, and worries about transportation to our cottages; the mules and oxen are here to replace you! The water is very good and is found everywhere for the needs of all the families. We believe it will not be necessary to water our gardens in view of the abundant dews and the frequent showers which are sufficient for the needs of the soil. The earth is everywhere cultivatable and gives where it is cared for an abundant harvest. We find ourselves face to face with immensity, and the boundaries have disap-

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 151.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶³ C. J. Ryder, *The "Poor Men of Lyons" in Our Southern Mountains* (New York: American Missionary Association Bible House, n. d.), p. 5. Reprinted from *Advance*, Nov. 22, 1894, p. 257.

peared to give each individual an opportunity for his intelligence and his strength. Thirty families will be welcome, but there is room for more than one hundred and fifty families, for we can give you no exact idea of the ten thousand acres. We are happy. With God's aid a fine future opens up before us. The foundations of the colony have been firmly set on the Rock of Ages as well as on human documents, and with faith and courage we are going forward."⁶⁴

On Sunday afternoon, July 2, occurred an unfortunate incident. Two boys by the name of McNeely in a state of intoxication visited the colony and caused a disturbance. The citizens of Burke County were highly incensed. Warrants were issued for the arrest of the young men, and the Morganton *Herald* expressed the hope that the severest penalty allowed by the law would be meted out to them: "The Waldensians have hundreds of friends in Burke, who will spare neither trouble nor expense in having the law enforced against any who molest these harmless Christian people." The boys were soon lodged in the Morganton jail. On the fourteenth, they were brought to trial. The case was dismissed, it having been found that they had no intention of ill doing and that they were penitent for their riotous conduct.⁶⁵

July was a month of work for the colonists: hay and grain were harvested, work was carried on at the sawmill, cottages and roads were built. By the end of July several changes in the outward appearance of the property had been wrought. The Charlotte *Observer* remarked on July 29 that "their neat cottages can be seen from the car windows. They are industriously at work improving their purchase and are making and grading good roads which are to traverse it."⁶⁶

In July the Reverend Enrico Vinay arrived to become the pastor of the colony. Vinay was a man of talent who could have been an excellent leader had it not been for unfortunate circumstances in his life. He had been sent by the Waldensian Church to do missionary work in Sicily. While there he had married a woman of that island. The marriage was most unhappy. The Venerable Table knew that Vinay had become somewhat addicted to the use of alcohol. Nevertheless, it decided to send him to North Carolina, unaccompanied by his wife, in the hope that he would make a fresh start. He remained less than a year, leaving before the arrival of Soulier toward the end of June, 1894.⁶⁷ He had been accused of immorality and had not been able to abandon the use of strong drink. He went from Valdese to California, where he died within a few years.

⁶⁴ July 27, 1893, p. 136.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ Morganton *Herald*, July 6, 13, and 20, 1893.

⁶⁷ Letter of Mr. Soulier, May 30, 1939.

There are but two entries in the colony records for the period of his pastorate. The first, in Italian, deals with a meeting of the board of directors which he called on August 1. The colony accounts were examined and the funds turned over to Vinay, who was to serve as treasurer as long as he should be pastor.⁶⁸ The second entry reports a meeting of the board on August 12. A new set of rules was drawn up at this meeting. The most important regulations provided that any man had a right to speak at colony meetings; women might speak only upon invitation of the presiding officer; six men should be sent weekly to the sawmill; any man unable to report for work at the sawmill should inform the board of directors so that a substitute might be sent; those who were not named should busy themselves with the construction of new houses, the repairing of others, the tending of the colony animals, and the transport of lumber; a shelter should be built for the baking implements so that any colonist could bake bread when he wished; in case of urgent need of help the men who were not at the sawmill should report immediately.⁶⁹

On Wednesday, August 16, the colony received an official visit from Governor Elias Carr. There was some consternation among the Waldenses when they learned that the Governor was coming. At first they feared that they had done something wrong, but they were greatly pleased with the honor when they learned that it was to be a visit of ceremony. They turned out in full force to meet him and received him "with becoming dignity." The Governor, introduced by Vinay, delivered an address, gave the colonists an official welcome, and assured them that their state government would take a great deal of interest in their welfare. His address, translated by Vinay and Frisard, was greatly appreciated by the Waldenses, for whom Vinay replied "in excellent English." Thereupon the Governor shook hands with all the colonists. He insisted that they should have the full protection of the laws of the state and that every possible aid should be extended them. After seeing the lands of the corporation, he expressed his satisfaction at the evidences of prosperity, industry, and thrift of the newcomers.⁷⁰

During the week of August 20 the colony received twenty-five new members.⁷¹ On August 21 Henri F. Long and family and Michel Combe and family arrived from Utah, and on the twenty-third fifteen came from Italy. In this group, which crossed on the French steamer

⁶⁸ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 24. ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷⁰ *Morganton Herald*, Aug. 27, Sept. 28, 1893; *Le Témoin*, Sept. 14, 1893, p. 195.

⁷¹ *Morganton Herald*, Aug. 24, 1893.

La Bretagne, were Mrs. Albert Pons from Massello with three children; Mrs. Jacques Henri Tron from Massello with four children; Henri Perrou and bride from Prali; Étienne Bouchard from San Germano, who was joined by his wife and son in November; and César and Samuel Pons, both unmarried, from Massello.

Shortly afterwards the colony received further evidence of Governor Carr's interest. He presented a state flag, which was promptly unfurled along with Italian and American flags. The colonists, it was reported, were fast becoming attached to their adopted country and were talking of becoming naturalized.⁷²

In September a shingle machine was installed at the sawmill. Work was conducted regularly here, and satisfactory quantities of framing lumber, boards, shingles, and bark were turned out. Several houses were constructed. The largest was a frame building destined for the colony church, school, and storeroom needs, which was built on the northwest corner of Massel and Faët streets.

In October, Vinay, in addition to his pastoral work and his direction of the activities of his flock, attended the meeting of the Synod of North Carolina of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and wrote a long article for the Morganton *Herald*. At the meeting of the Synod, held in Tarboro on October 30, he was introduced as a member of the Waldensian Synod, and made an address in French, which was translated by the Reverend T. R. Sampson.⁷³ His letter to the *Herald* was a reply to some remarks in the Charlotte *Observer*. The *Observer* had stated that Morganton's "advance movements" had "naturally" attracted a "colony of Swiss emigrants, the Waldenses, with the purpose of experimenting on grape culture and many of the handicrafts of Europe." Vinay paid tribute to the continued friendship of the Swiss people who had "sheltered, protected, and comforted" their forefathers, but asserted that the colonists of Valdese were "Italians by birth" and with all their hearts. He pointed out that they had not crossed the ocean in order to be able to experiment in grape culture, and that they were much more interested in a loaf of bread than in a glass of wine. As for the handicrafts of Europe he declared that the Waldenses were eminently an agricultural people who would cultivate in Burke County wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, and any kind of vegetables and fruits. He predicted that they would soon have an abundant supply of those products, as well as butter, cheese, and eggs for sale. Indeed, they would soon be shipping large quantities of lumber

⁷² *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1893.

⁷³ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1893), p. 124.

of high quality from their "most beautiful lands, enriched by numberless springs of ever cool and mineral water." One was not to expect too much of them in handicrafts. That would be as great a failure as to dig their lands "in search of golden metal that is said to hide itself in their bosom."⁷⁴

In November the colonists were busy making preparations for a large number of additions expected from the valleys. Early in the month they made arrangements for buying large stores of provisions for the winter. The board of directors put notices in the newspapers asking the farmers roundabout to bring their wares to Valdese for sale. Good milch cows, potatoes, corn, wheat, poultry, butter, and eggs were desired. The members of the board living in Morganton let it be known that they would be present on November 28 and 29 to examine all articles offered for sale, so that none might sell inferior produce or get more than a fair market price.⁷⁵

On Thursday, November 23, 1893, the largest party ever to come to the colony arrived from Italy. They had gathered in Torre Pellice on the second of November, many of them having come from farms high above the valleys. They had been assembled by C. A. Tron, who, on his return from America, had conducted many meetings, telling of the venture and enlisting recruits. Many of those in this group had attended one or more of these meetings. Tron had brought from Valdese some of the wheat bread which had been baked there. This made a great impression on those accustomed to the native black bread. He described the heavily timbered lands, declaring that the colonists could live from the profits from lumber and bark. He admitted that conditions would be difficult during the first winter, but assured his audiences that there was ample opportunity for those who were willing to work. He declared that the soil was good and without rocks. This statement was misleading, for the clay soil of Valdese is strewn with flinty rocks.

Tron had been forced to do the recruiting of colonists almost without aid. It is the belief of many that he was not treated fairly by the other ministers of the valleys. He had been named leader of the colony, but had not been generously supported by the others. He had seen that conditions in Burke County were not as favorable as had been hoped. Obviously he was worried about the future. On the occasion of his last visit to Valdese, about thirty years after the founding of the colony, he remarked that he was very glad to see Valdese pros-

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, Oct. 12, 1893.

⁷⁵ Morganton *Herald*, Nov. 9 and 23, 1893.

pering, for during the first year of the venture he had heard from some of his colleagues such remarks as: "He went and sold his brethren."⁷⁶

In this third party there were one hundred and seventy-eight souls.⁷⁷ Most of them were quite poor. Some of the families had from three to four hundred dollars on arrival. But most of them had far less. One of the group, still living in Valdese, came with a young bride and only twenty dollars.

From Torre Pellice they went to Genoa by train. Here they were detained in quarantine for five days. The disinfectants used by the officials destroyed many of their books, most of them new Bibles which their friends had given them on parting. On November 8, 1893, they sailed steerage on the North German Lloyd liner *Kaiser Wilhelm II*. Much of the voyage from Gibraltar to New York was stormy. Two immigrant children died on board and were buried at sea. Before the landing of the ship on Monday, November 20, an attempt was made to show that the Waldenses were not colonists, but had been engaged under contract by some American company. This information was sent to Valdese. Vinay prepared affidavits, establishing the truth, and Governor Carr sent an official letter to the chief of the immigration service, stating his interest in the immigrants and attesting that they were not contract laborers and that they were colonists coming to lands which had already been purchased for their use. The chief commissioner of immigration informed Governor Carr that he would do all in his power to assist in the landing and starting southward of this "most desirable class of immigrants." Scaife met them in New York and saw them on board a steamer of the Old Dominion Line. They were given transportation at a low rate to West Point, Virginia, where Scaife with a special train of four cars awaited them. The Richmond and Danville Railroad again furnished free carriage to Valdese.⁷⁸

The Waldenses were objects of interest in several North Carolina towns as their train passed through. At Salisbury and Hickory large numbers of interested citizens were at the station to see the newcomers. The train reached Valdese late in the afternoon. Hordes from Morganton and other surrounding towns awaited the coming of the special train. The meeting of the new settlers and those who had come

⁷⁶ This information was furnished by citizens of Valdese.

⁷⁷ Morganton *Herald*, Nov. 30, 1893. The issue of Nov. 23 gives the number as 167.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1893. See *Le Témoin*, Dec. 21, 1893, p. 305.

earlier was touching. Many had families or relatives in the group, and all had friends or acquaintances.

Immediately after they had alighted from the train they were summoned to a service of thanksgiving conducted by Vinay. Eye-witnesses have recorded the impressiveness and solemnity of the occasion. At the conclusion of the service all sat down to a love feast which had been prepared by the colonists and several of their American friends. Of this arrival Vinay wrote to Tron: "It is pure poetry, and it is impossible to describe the emotion produced by the service and the feast which followed this unforgettable meeting."⁷⁹

The Charlotte *Observer* had sent a correspondent to cover the arrival. Of the immigrants he wrote: "They are a fine lot of people; strong, energetic, and full of enthusiasm. Our people have been particularly struck with the beautiful faces of the children, all of whom are taught to read and write when very young. They jabber away at a lively rate in either French, Italian, or their native patois."⁸⁰ Among the group were about forty heads of families. The majority were from the valleys of San Martino or Perosa, there being ten from Pramollo, seven from Prali, six from Ville Sèche, four from Massello, four from San Germano, three from Perrier-Manecille, two from Pomaretto, two from Torre Pellice, and one from Rorà.

Not all of the party remained permanently in Valdese: some returned to the valleys; others removed to various American points. Of those who established themselves definitely and who made large contributions to the prosperity of the colony the following may be mentioned: Jean Garrou, Sr.; Jean Garrou, Jr.; Antoine Grill; Mrs. Catherine Griset; Jean Thomas Guigou; J. J. Jacumin; Jean Jacques Léger; Frédéric Meytre; P. E. Micol; Daniel Mourglia; Jean H. Pascal, son of Jean Pascal; Jean Henri Pascal; Philippe Pascal; Étienne Perrou; Henri Peyronnel; J. P. Peyronnel; J. F. Ribet; J. R. Ribet; Hippolyte Salvageot; François Tron, Sr.; Jean Tron; and Henri Vinay.

Although this was the last organized group to come to Valdese, there were from 1894 to 1932 many additions from the Waldensian valleys and other places in Italy and Europe. More than forty families joined the colony subsequently. Most of them remained in Valdese, while others returned to Europe or settled elsewhere in the United States. Eighteen additional families came from Prali. There were smaller numbers from Pramollo, Ville Sèche, Rodoretto, Massello, Pomaretto, and other communities in the valleys. Three families came

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Morganton *Herald*, Nov. 30, 1898.

from Italian centers without the valleys. One family came from France, and one Belgian family spent about three years in Valdese.

Of the Waldensian families who came at all times to Burke County, the largest number, twenty-nine, was from Prali. Sixteen came from Massello and fifteen from Pramollo. Ville Sèche, Rodoretto, San Germano, Perrier-Maneille, Pomaretto, Torre Pellice, Angrogna, and Rorà sent respectively eleven, ten, seven, five, five, two, and one.⁸¹

When temporary lodgings had been found, the new arrivals were shown over the Waldensian lands. There was no little disillusionment on the part of the newcomers. They were housed with difficulty, "for all was not ready." Tron wrote: "Some were disappointed on seeing nothing but forests, nothing but forests and the cultivated land already occupied by the first colonists; but with union, perseverance, and a great spirit of abnegation, everyone will soon have more land than he can work.—The two first years will be hard and difficulties will not be lacking, but the Lord will be with His children and will bless them."⁸² They were put to work, clearing the fields and preparing their homes for the winter. Vinay assumed full charge of the work. Many still recall the pastor, armed with a revolver to keep off wild beasts and marauders, directing the labors of the immigrants much as if they were a gang of contract laborers. They were assigned work at the sawmill, on the roads, clearing land, and building houses.

Their houses were hardly more than cabins, made of rough, undried boards and not tight enough for the rude winter climate of Burke County. There was little food, especially for those who had come with limited funds. In the words of François Garrou, then sixteen, "Our first business for several months after locating in Valdese was starving to death."⁸³

The month of December was memorable for two outstanding events: the visit of the Reverend Dr. Matteo Prochet, and the Christmas celebration. Dr. Prochet, twice knighted by King Humbert for distinguished services to the Italian State, was Chairman of the Committee of Evangelization of the Waldensian Church. He had been sent to America to raise funds for the work of evangelization of the Church and to visit the colonies in North and South America. He reached New York early in December and spoke on the missionary movement in Italy at the University Place Presbyterian Church on December 10.⁸⁴ He arrived in Morganton on Saturday, December 23, and was enter-

⁸¹ These figures are based on lists compiled by Mr. Antoine Grill.

⁸² *Le Témoin*, June 28, 1894, p. 202.

⁸³ *Morganton Herald*, Nov. 26, 1937.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1893.

tained in the home of Scaife. The following day he was taken to Valdese, where he conducted religious services. At the boundary of the colony lands he was greeted by over one hundred Waldensian children, who were drawn up in ranks and sang a song of welcome as his carriage approached. He spent the week in Valdese, taking part in the Christmas celebration; examining the lands, the colony accounts, and the records; visiting all the families; and making plans for the future management of the colony.⁸⁵ During his stay he saw one thing that alarmed him. He noticed several wagons and inquired of Vinay what they contained. They were loaded with whiskey. The owners were offering it to the Waldenses, who, thinking the gift a sign of hospitality and courtesy, were too polite to refuse it. Of this attempt to instill a taste for liquor in the colony so that the dealers might find a market for it, Dr. Prochet wrote: "It is only an instance of one of the thousand ways you Americans have of advertising." He remarked to friends in Morganton that the Waldenses were not teetotalers and were already setting out vineyards. He was informed that at the next session of the legislature Valdese could be made into a township and the sale of liquor forbidden.⁸⁶

On Friday afternoon he returned to Morganton as the guest of Scaife and on December 31 occupied the pulpit of the Presbyterian Church. He had seen that all was not in order in the colony. He discussed affairs with the officers of the corporation who lived in Morganton, and realized that the burden of debt was too heavy. He requested J. R. Ervin, a prominent engineer of Morganton and a friend of the Waldenses, to make an estimate of the assets of the corporation and of the value of the various lots of land which had already been assigned to the colonists. Probably the reduction of the corporation's holdings, voted a few weeks later, was suggested and approved by Dr. Prochet, for in Ervin's estimate he figured on less than five thousand acres. Ervin appraised the four thousand acres of timberland at \$2.50 per acre; one hundred and twenty acres of town property at \$25.00 per acre; the barn and ten acres of land at \$800.00; the storehouse and lot on the corner of Massel and Faët streets at \$750.00; the sawmill, shingle machine, engine, and machinery at \$1,100.00; two mule teams, wagons, carts, harness, and oxen at \$500.00. This was a total valuation of \$16,150.00, making the estimated cash value of each share of Valdese Corporation stock, \$64.60.⁸⁷

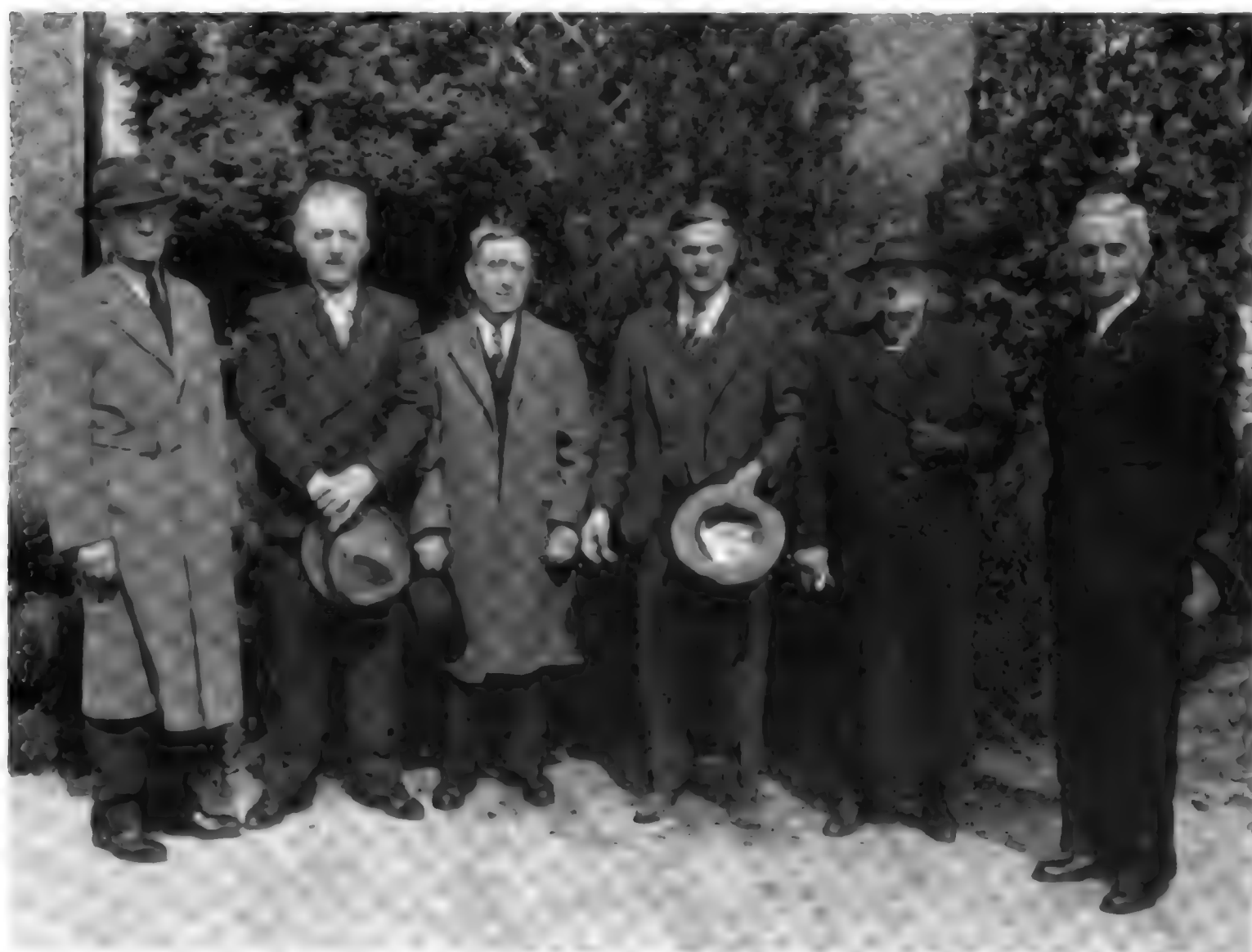
⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1893.

⁸⁶ *Charlotte Weekly Observer*, Jan. 15, 1894.

⁸⁷ Letter of J. R. Ervin to Dr. Prochet, Dec. 30, 1893.



First Christmas of the Waldensians at Valdese, N. C., 1893



Six of the party who arrived in Valdese, N. C., on May 29, 1893: L. P. Guigou, Victor Micol, François Tron, Alexis Guigou, Mrs. Catherine Garrou, Emanuel Micol

On leaving Morganton, Prochet visited several other cities in North Carolina. According to the Morganton *Herald*, he had been "one of the most observed and interesting figures in the state." He received much attention in Charlotte, where he preached, and in Salisbury. It was impossible to accommodate all those who wished to hear him in Salisbury. When he left the city, nearly all the ministers and many citizens went to the station to bid him farewell. Many declared that he was one of the greatest men that they had ever seen.⁸⁸ He spent one night in Valdese, before leaving for Washington on January 16. After two months in America he sailed for Liverpool to re-embark for a visit to the colonies in Uruguay and Argentina.

In 1893, through the efforts of several women of Morganton and other cities, the one hundred and fifteen children of the colony had a happy holiday season. Mrs. Arthur Evans, of Morganton, raised a considerable sum of money among the members of the different churches of the city to furnish a Christmas tree. Miss Laura Avery, of Morganton, and Miss Lawrence, of Asheville, interested many friends of the Waldenses in Northern cities who sent books, toys, articles of clothing, and other gifts. These women went to Valdese on Christmas and New Year's Day to distribute the presents. On the second occasion Santa Claus appeared in person to hand out the contents of four large packing boxes from friends in other states. There were toys for the younger children, and large blackboards with stands for use in the schoolroom. The boys were given wooden guns and bayonets for the school drills. Dr. Prochet, who was present at both celebrations, talked with the children as they came forward to receive their gifts.⁸⁹

The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America began early to show an interest in the new movement. It announced the purchase of the property and a letter from Pastor Vinay in the January, 1894, issue of *The Church at Home and Abroad*. Vinay gave the following interesting explanation of the migration to North Carolina: "It is because our valleys are so narrow and our young people, flocking into France, chiefly into Marseilles and Nice, are surrounded by many temptations endangering their faith and morality. We do prefer to imitate the old Puritans and go abroad in order to keep our faith and our old simplicity."⁹⁰ A few months later the same organ reported on conditions in the colony as follows: "They have the faith and courage

⁸⁸ Jan. 18, 1894.

⁸⁹ Morganton *Herald*, Dec. 21 and 28, 1893; Jan. 4, 1894.

⁹⁰ P. 39.

which have marked the whole history of that people, but they have not received that helpful sympathy which they need in the new conditions in which they find themselves in this country, and which they might well expect to receive from their stronger sister, the Presbyterian Church. But they are carrying their burdens bravely and uncomplainingly."⁹¹

During the first winter the Waldensian children began to attend school. Facilities were provided in a county school situated on the Big Hill Chapel lot, now known as Bollinger's Chapel, about one mile south of Valdese. At that time there were two buildings on the lot, a one-room log cabin about eighteen by thirty feet which was used as a schoolhouse, and a one-room frame chapel of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The school building, with but one door, was equipped with a stone fireplace and rough wooden benches; American and Waldensian children were taught there. Miss McGalliard, of Connelly Springs, was the first teacher. Inasmuch as the children of the colony understood no English, it was found necessary to open a Waldensian school. This school was held in the colony building on the corner of Massel and Faët streets in the room used for religious services. Antoine Grill was appointed teacher and was relieved from service in the corporation sawmill.

In February Professor Michel A. Jahier arrived from New York to take charge of the school. As early as March 1, 1894, he was "greatly pleased with the progress of the children."⁹² Jahier had been employed as a teacher-evangelist in the Waldensian primary school of Naples during the early 1880's. In Naples he met an American woman whom he married. Some time thereafter he left Italy and came to New York, where, in company with another Italian, he conducted for several years a boardinghouse, which became bankrupt. Jahier's wife had died and he, almost without funds, decided to join his countrymen in Valdese. He taught for about four years, but had to give up his work because of increasing deafness. He returned to the valleys in 1901, where he entered the Old People's Home of San Germano Chisone. Later he was removed to the Home for Incurables at Luserna San Giovanni, where he died at the age of about eighty years.⁹³

During the winter the colonists suffered a great deal, in spite of donations from their American friends. The main article of diet was corn meal and molasses. Some families sought positions for their

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Aug., 1895, p. 107.

⁹² Morganton *Herald*, March 1, 1894.

⁹³ Letter from Pastor Barth. Soulier to author, Jan. 13, 1940.

daughters as domestic servants. In January, Jean Jacques Léger's daughter went to Charlotte to work in the home of John Meier, who came to Valdese the next summer to open a hosiery factory.⁹⁴

Many were homesick, and it is probable that several of the colonists would have returned to Italy if they had had the necessary funds. Of these cases it is sufficient to relate but one. A bride with her young husband had come with the party which arrived in November. They occupied a small cabin in the woods on the hill to the south of the railroad tracks. Suffering from cold, hunger, and loneliness to the point of despair, the young woman often rushed out of her home, leaned against an oak, clenched her fists until they bled, sobbed, and cried out for her father at home in the Waldensian valleys.

In February two members of the colony became American citizens. On the twentieth Hippolyte Salvageot, the storekeeper, and the only colonist who spoke English well, and Jaubert Micol were naturalized in Morganton. Of this event the Morganton *Herald* declared: "They can't speak a great deal of English, but when you say 'Democrat' to one of them he grins all over his face and says 'Yah, yah.'"⁹⁵

In spite of bad weather, low temperatures and frequent snows, work in the sawmill and on the new houses was continued. The children were happy, playing in the snow. The health of the families was generally good. Several men found an opportunity for earning money by trimming grape vines for the citizens of Morganton.⁹⁶ A severe March frost ruined much of the wheat which had been planted.⁹⁷

The Waldensian colony was becoming well known throughout the state. The Morganton *Herald* reported on March 15 that whenever a train passed through Valdese, the passengers crowded to the windows to view the new village, showing by their comments their interest and knowledge of the people, who were "universally considered to be a sober, industrious sect" for whom Burke County was "not alone in being thankful."⁹⁸

Early in April a serious fire broke out in the woods east of the newly erected Valdese station. It was only with the greatest effort that the colony barn was saved. A group of houses was surrounded by flames and would have been destroyed, had the wind not changed. The most severe loss was half a mile of stock fence.⁹⁹

The colonists were encouraged by the announcement that during

⁹⁴ Morganton *Herald*, Feb. 1, 1894.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1894.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 1 and 8, 1894.

⁹⁷ Charlotte *Weekly Observer*, Sept. 24, 1894.

⁹⁸ March 15, 1894.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1894.

his visit in North Carolina Dr. Prochet had interested John Meier, superintendent of the Oats Hosiery Mill in Charlotte, in opening a factory in Valdese. Dr. Prochet had signed a contract with Meier, wherein, in consideration of the granting of a tract of land just south of the railroad upon which there was a two-story frame building designed to be used as a barn, the latter agreed to employ only Waldenses in his mill and to operate it for at least five years.¹⁰⁰

Remodeling of the barn was begun early in April. Meier and his family moved to Valdese during the month. Shortly after his arrival secondhand machinery came and was installed. This machinery was old-fashioned and required much manual labor for its operation.

On the thirtieth of May the colony approved the contract signed by Dr. Prochet and Meier, and a week later the officers of the Valdese Corporation signed its contract with the manufacturer. The conditions were generous. Meier was allowed free use of the building and four acres of land surrounding it for a term of five years from the date of the beginning of manufacturing, and was given all the rough lumber necessary to remodel the structure. In case the industry became large enough to require labor other than Waldensian, Meier should be allowed to employ outsiders only with the consent of the corporation. If the factory were operated continuously for five years, the property would be conveyed to Meier without charge.¹⁰¹

Early in the spring it was announced that Dr. C. A. Tron would return for a short visit to Valdese and would bring with him "a few more Waldenses for the colony."¹⁰² Dr. Prochet had requested that he come to America to aid in collecting funds for the work of evangelization. He arrived in the colony late in May and remained about one month. Vinay, whose shortcomings have been mentioned,¹⁰³ had already departed. Although the colony records are silent as to what official action was taken, it seems certain that he had been requested to abandon his charge. Of his work *Le Témoin* reported: "Pastor E. Vinay has passed a very difficult year among the colonists, for it was a question of organizing everything."¹⁰⁴ He was employed by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America as missionary in the Italian Mission, San Francisco. For the church year 1894-1895 he served nine months as stated sup-

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* See contract between Valdese Corporation and John Meier, dated June 8, 1894.

¹⁰² *Morganton Herald*, March 1, 1894.

¹⁰³ See p. 95, above.

¹⁰⁴ June 28, 1894, p. 202.

ply.¹⁰⁵ Vinay continued at this post until his death during the summer of 1896.¹⁰⁶

Many important steps were taken during the time that Dr. Tron assumed again the temporary presidency of the colony. He called a meeting on May 30 at which he gave a résumé of the situation of the corporation and made suggestions for its future management. Several of his propositions were adopted. Among the more important were: the election of two boards, one "legal," the other "moral." The first was to be made up of nine members of whom three should be from Morganton; the second should be composed of the pastor, the elders, and associate members. The legal board should meet each week and twice monthly in joint session with the moral board. The legal board could not take action involving expense to the colony without the approval of the moral board. Two schools, to be established, one in Valdese and the other at Franklin, were to be operated at least four months each year.¹⁰⁷

Soon after his return to Valdese, Dr. Tron effected the long-projected reduction of the colony lands and debt. On the fifth of June he signed a deed as president of the corporation, conveying to the Morganton Land and Improvement Company certain large tracts of property, containing about five thousand acres of mountain land, and retaining only those sections of the original acres which were most fertile and best suited for agricultural purposes. The consideration for this sale was the surrender by the Morganton Land and Improvement Company of bonds of the Valdese Corporation to a value of seven thousand dollars. As a result of this transaction the settlers now held about five thousand acres of land against which there were eighteen thousand dollars in bonds. In addition to this debt, the corporation owed the company \$1,387.48 for the money advanced for the purchase of the sawmill, tools, agricultural implements, animals, and other supplies.¹⁰⁸

Against this amount Dr. Tron figured the money due the corporation from the individual colonists. They had taken property to the value of \$14,780.49 and owed \$846.84 to the corporation store, making

¹⁰⁵ *Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian House, 156 Fifth Avenue, 1895).

¹⁰⁶ *Ninety-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1897).

¹⁰⁷ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, pp. 27 f.

¹⁰⁸ Burke County, Register of Deeds, Vol. "Z," pp. 116-124.

their total indebtedness \$15,627.33. He thus fixed the debt of the corporation at \$3,760.15.¹⁰⁹

In spite of the reduction of the total debt overhanging the colony it was becoming more and more evident that the financial conditions of the members were serious. Nearly all of their meager savings had been used up for transportation and subsistence. A correspondent of the *Charlotte Observer*, who was sent to Valdese to examine the situation, reported: "The truth must be told—these colonists are settled on very sterile land and they have had hard work getting a foothold. Some are at about the end of their tether."¹¹⁰

A graphic narration of conditions in the colony is found in the *State Normal Magazine* of February, 1899. Captain W. Murdoch Wiley, of Salisbury, North Carolina, a world traveler and sea captain who had visited the Waldensian valleys and could speak the dialects, spent the winter and spring of 1894 in the hotel of Connelly Springs. Walking up the railroad tracks one day, he saw "a little group of cabins, clustering along the track, while on a nearer hillside a band of children were busily foraging for brush-wood and chips." He spoke to the people with his "foreign accent, shaky grammar, and inadequate vocabulary" and thereafter visited them frequently. "The time at which I paid my first visit to Valdese was the beginning of the darkest period of their colonial history: despair, distress, and discouragement had laid fast hold of them. Many mistakes had been made by themselves and by those acting for them, and the inevitable harvest of suffering was now fast ripening," he says. He found that the most serious mistakes were: too much land had been purchased; much of the land was remote from the railroad and destitute of roads; the adoption of "the Utopian basis of a commune"; and the sending out to the colony the very poorest families. "There were," he declared, "not a few cases of absolute suffering for the actual necessities of life." Of the instances which he observed he relates the following: "One Sunday morning in June, 1894, a messenger from Valdese arrived at the Connelly Springs Hotel with the request that I come immediately to the colony, bringing a doctor. Upon arriving at the settlement we were conducted to the cabin of the patient, a young man, Pascal by name, whom we found to be suffering from dementia. He was not at all violent, but rambled on in his rude patois about his far distant valley and the parents and friends he had left behind him; a good deal of his incoherent talk related to imaginary feasts, and once or twice he cried out that he had been robbed and begged piteously

¹⁰⁹ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 34.

¹¹⁰ June 18, 1894.

for the restitution of his money—all he had in the world, he said, and so little. The physical aspects of the case rather puzzled the doctor; the patient was extremely emaciated, as if from illness of long duration, yet the neighbors said they had not known of his complaining at all, previous to this sudden access of dementia. Later it developed that the man was simply on the verge of starvation. He had arrived in Valdese with only a few dollars left after defraying his transportation, and this money he was induced to invest in the securities of the Valdese Corporation. It seems that he misunderstood the nature of the transaction and imagined he was depositing the money in some sort of savings institution. Later when all attempts to obtain work had proved futile and he was forced to fall back upon his tiny hoard, he learned to his dismay that the money was unavailable—locked up in the bonds of the corporation. Completely unnerved by the hopelessness of his position and too proud to reveal the situation to his fellow colonists he shut himself up in his wretched hovel to starve, and would have done so had not his fit of insanity providentially discovered the state of affairs to his neighbors in time to save his life, though he was mentally a wreck for some time after.”¹¹¹

Captain Wiley, believing that the colonists had been the victims of the neighboring farmers, wrote: “Rev. Mr. Tron had told his flock that the Americans were strictly upright and straightforward in their dealings, and when one of them placed a price on his commodity they should pay what he asked without any attempt at driving a bargain, as haggling was unknown among Americans. The result of this advice—was that every emaciated steer and milk-lorn cow found profitable and unquestionable market at Valdese.”¹¹² He added that with the coming of Soulier “better days began to dawn upon Valdese.”

Dr. Tron, hopeful that the opening of the hosiery mill would bring an end to these difficulties, wrote optimistically of conditions to *Le Témoignage*: “It is unbelievable that one has been able to do so much in so short a time, for, in addition to the work in common, each one has labored to increase his own farm, and now one can count by hundreds the cleared acres.—God in His providence has conducted into our midst a Swiss family which has cast its lot with that of the colonists, coming to establish a hosiery factory which will be a great resource for our brothers. The children from ten to sixteen years will easily be able to earn twelve dollars per month,—a sum more than sufficient

¹¹¹ W. Murdoch Wiley, “The Waldenses of North Carolina,” *State Normal Magazine* (Greensboro, N. C.), III, 371-382.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 379 f.

to wipe out the colony debt in a very little time. They are at work with ardor and the factory will start running in August."¹¹³

This sanguine prediction was never realized. When the factory started in October¹¹⁴ the wages were very low. According to Mr. Antoine Grill, whose wife worked in Meier's mill, boys were paid from ten to fifteen cents a day, and some women who mended received only three cents. Mr. L. P. Guigou, then a boy of about twelve years, worked for several months in 1894-1895, receiving two dollars a month when he was paid at all. That there was early dissatisfaction is shown by a statement in the colony records of October 27, 1894. At a general assembly one of the members "questioned Mr. Meier in regard to the factory, and asked him whether or not his factory can promise us any revenues at all satisfactory." Meier's only reply was: "The more dozen stockings they made, the more they would earn." The interrogator then mentioned Dr. Tron's letter which had been published in *Le Témoin* and declared: "From this letter everybody believes that the Waldenses no longer lack anything, which is not at all the case. (Castles in Spain.)"¹¹⁵

The Morganton Land and Improvement Company showed its generosity toward the hard-pressed colonists by putting off the payment of interest which was due at about this time, allowing the Waldenses to harvest their crops before meeting their interest payments. Furthermore, it intimated that it would not insist on prompt payment of the interest which would be due in January of the following year.¹¹⁶

To assist in the educational work of the colony, another teacher had come at about the time of Dr. Tron's visit. From Philadelphia came Miss Palmer, an elderly woman, who built a house on a lot chosen by her and donated by the colony. On the spot where now stands the manse Miss Palmer lived for a few years, teaching the children and giving aid and advice to the women.¹¹⁷ At her death this house was willed to the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,¹¹⁸ which sold it to the church in 1905.¹¹⁹

During Dr. Tron's visit many sessions of the board of directors and colony assemblies were held. On June 7 the colony voted to put the sawmill in charge of an American and to select someone to manage

¹¹³ June 28, 1894, p. 202.

¹¹⁴ *Hickory Press and Carolinian*, Aug. 8, 1895.

¹¹⁵ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 70.

¹¹⁶ *Le Témoin*, June 28, 1894, p. 202.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Letter from Pastor Henry Garrou to Antoine Grill, Aug. 6, 1903.

¹¹⁹ *Le Grand Livre*, pp. 164, 166.

the corporation store. At this meeting two new boards were named. The business board was made up of the Reverend J. M. Rose, Jr., W. C. Ervin, and S. T. Pearson, of Morganton; Dr. C. A. Tron, Honorary President; John Meier, Jean Jacques Léger, Étienne Perrou, H. Perrou, J. H. Tron, and J. P. Peyronnel. The moral board was made up of the Reverend Barthélemy Soulier, the newly appointed pastor; the elders, A. Martinat, Jean Garrou, and H. Long; and the teacher, M. A. Jahier.¹²⁰

The newly elected business board convened on June 9, organizing itself and naming the following officers: President, the Reverend J. M. Rose, Jr.; Vice-President, John Meier; Secretary, Jean Jacques Léger. It selected John Meier as manager of the store and Sam Cook manager of the sawmill. It decided to establish two schools, one at "the hill," south of Valdese, the other beyond South Mountain in the district known as Franklin.¹²¹

On June 18 the board met again. It assigned certain farms and town lots to several petitioners. It voted to reserve the town lots solely for building purposes and priced them at forty dollars for Waldenses and one hundred dollars for all others. It went over the accounts of H. Salvageot, who had been in charge of the store, and turned the stock over to Meier. It voted to reserve the lot across the tracks from the manse for the erection of a hotel or "an establishment of public utility."¹²²

The Reverend Barthélemy Soulier and his bride arrived in Valdese late in June, finding that Dr. Tron and the Reverend Mr. Vinay had already departed. Of their impressions upon arriving, Soulier wrote forty-five years later: "We found as a dwelling a hut of wood set upon some pieces of beams, made up of three rooms. Between one board and the next one could see daylight almost everywhere: an almost complete absence of furniture; the largest of our packing cases served as dining table, the smaller ones as chairs. In one corner a wooden bed, equipped only with a soiled mattress filled with straw, hard as wood, in which the mice had made their nest! One can imagine what comfort we could have in winter with the west wind! I remember that one morning (and doubtless more than one morning) I found a block of ice in the water pitcher, the loaf of fresh bread frozen, the eggs broken and frozen.—My pastoral duties were but little compared

¹²⁰ *Le Témoignage*, June 28, 1894, p. 202. See *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, pp. 28 f.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29 f. The name "Franklin" was given that area because of a farmer by that name who lived nearby.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 32 f.

with all my other occupations: I had to serve as public secretary, interpreter, and very often justice of the peace."¹²³

Soulier, a man of great energy, understanding, and foresight, had been trained at the Waldensian Seminary and had done postgraduate work in Edinburgh. He had a thorough knowledge of English, and was a "practical man of affairs, intensely in love with his mission."¹²⁴ He soon realized that the first organization of the colony was an impossibility and that many changes would have to be made if the venture was to succeed. His seven years in Burke County were years of courageousness and consecrated, untiring efforts. During his pastorate the foundations for the future success of the colony were laid. Years later Soulier wrote: "I worked there (I can say it with complete conscientiousness) with all my might and with the enthusiasm of a first love. I struggled much, suffered much, and received, thanks be to God, many satisfactions. But today my greatest satisfaction is that the colony finally triumphed over all its difficulties. My true and great reward before leaving this world is to know that my work has not been 'in vain in the Lord.'"¹²⁵

Soulier spent the first few weeks in settling his house, visiting his parishioners, and becoming acquainted with colony affairs. He was not long in calling a meeting of the moral board. He informed the board at this first meeting of July 16 that since the departure of Dr. Tron the meetings of the two boards had not been held regularly. He called a joint meeting of the two boards for July 21, reminded the members that their task was a most difficult one, and proposed a resolution that each one should exert every effort, "imploring help from Heaven." It was decided to hold the Sunday afternoon services in turn in Valdese, the Hill, and Franklin, with the fourth Sunday reserved for the smaller settlements of Gardiole, Prangins, and the Chapel. It was voted to hold one service each month in Italian.¹²⁶

Shortly after assuming the direction of the colony Soulier observed that the colony regulations adopted during the first weeks in Valdese were not adequate for the needs. A committee of which he was president was named; and on October 6 the new set of regulations, consisting of thirty-two articles, was read by him and unanimously accepted at a general assembly. In this businesslike document the functions of the officers are clearly outlined, provision is made for the regular meetings of the two boards singly and jointly and of general

¹²³ Letter of Soulier to the author, April 27, 1939.

¹²⁴ Wiley, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¹²⁵ Letter of Soulier to the author, April 27, 1939.

¹²⁶ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, pp. 38 ff.

assemblies, and rules are laid down for the operation of the sawmill, for sale of land, and for action in case of emergencies.¹²⁷

From the records of the meetings held during the summer and fall of 1894, it is clear that there was great confusion in Valdese. Several gatherings were devoted to settling a land dispute between two colonists. There was trouble over the keeping of the records. The Vice-President, Meier, did not convene the business board regularly. He was accused of charging high prices at the store. He was obstinate in refusing to open his books to the board. His hosiery mill was slow in beginning production.¹²⁸

There was trouble at the colony sawmill. Among the individualistic Waldensian people, harassed by suffering and privations, and operating under a system entirely out of line with their habits and customs, it is natural that the co-operative system of management proved unworkable. Some who were sent to the sawmill refused to take orders from those in authority. One week all the men wished to operate the saw. Others refused to carry logs, leaving this tedious task to the younger, more willing workers. To carry on operations at all it was necessary to have more men on hand than were required to man the mill. Of this inefficient work, Soulier wrote: "The colonists were badly directed and did not make the mill produce satisfactorily, so that the public debt increased continually."¹²⁹

The summer was unusually dry, most of the potato crop was lost, and food became scarce. Often there was not enough flour and other necessities at the store. Early in August, Soulier informed the moral board that he intended to use the fifty dollars allowed by the American Missionary Association for the pastor's salary for June to buy flour for the needy. Three bushels were given the most destitute families, and the rest was divided among the others.¹³⁰ On more than one occasion Soulier purchased flour at his own expense and kept it in the manse to provide for the most desperate cases of need.¹³¹ By September it had become well known in North Carolina that the colony was in sore straits. The Second Presbyterian Church of Charlotte sent its pastor, Dr. Boyd, to investigate. He reported to his congregation that he had seen much suffering. He had asked one family what they had had for dinner and was told that they had had only a little mush, fried "and divided among six hungry little mouths." He had seen another family that was sick "for eating nothing but peas for two

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51, 54, 56.

¹²⁹ *Le Témoin*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

¹³⁰ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 52.

¹³¹ Letter of Soulier to the author, April 27, 1939.

weeks." They had been too proud to tell of their distress and poverty until it was discovered through their illness. Dr. Boyd appealed for food and clothing. The women of the church sent several large boxes, which were received "with joy and happiness." Mrs. Meier, who distributed the gifts and who often gave away bread from her own table, wrote to the church that "some with tears and heartache would take the provisions given them and say, 'God bless the giver.'"¹⁸²

Some of those who had taken lands far from the center were becoming dissatisfied and were requesting to be moved. This was done whenever possible. Several became discouraged and abandoned the colony, some returning to Italy and others going to larger American cities. According to Captain Wiley, "the colony decreased in numbers from fifty to about twenty-five families during the days of storm and stress."¹⁸³ This is obviously an exaggeration.

Early in September, Soulier went to the officers of the Morganton Land and Improvement Company with the request that additional tracts of land be taken back. They agreed to buy two large parcels at the rate of \$1.50 an acre, requested that none of the farms be abandoned, and assured the people that they need not fear dispossession because of inability to pay their interest on time.¹⁸⁴

In spite of all the discontent, hardships, and uncertainties of 1894 the work of the colony enterprises was carried on. Several carloads of lumber were cut, loaded at the Valdese station, and shipped, in addition to the large quantities required for the house building of the settlers. Considerable amounts of oak bark were sent to market.¹⁸⁵ Fair crops of vegetables and corn were harvested, notwithstanding the unfavorable weather and the fact that the Waldenses knew little of American fertilizers and soil conditions. Plans for Sunday and day schools were made. On the thirty-first of August the moral board announced that the colony day school would open on the second Monday in September in Valdese. The school in Franklin would open in December.¹⁸⁶

Jahier served as teacher of the school, which was held in the public building on the corner of Massel and Faët streets. His small salary was paid by the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church. Of his work Jahier wrote to Secretary C. J. Ryder of the association, shortly after the opening of school: "For the little children I am obliged to write on the blackboard their lesson because they

¹⁸² *Charlotte Weekly Observer*, Sept. 24 and Oct. 8, 1894.

¹⁸³ Wiley, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¹⁸⁴ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, pp. 64, 67.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

have no book, and the school has nothing in order to teach the little ones to read, to write, and to spell. Thus I write as well as I can on the blackboard a song, the Lord's Prayer, or some verses of the Bible, then I read to them a word, dividing it into syllables. After that I teach them the letters, and so they learn first to read, then to spell, and lastly the name of the letters they find in their work."¹³⁷

Mr. and Mrs. Soulier also assisted in the educational program during their first year in Valdese. He conducted a class in English made up of young men and women who wished to go out into service, and wrote, in a letter to Secretary Ryder on November 1: "My seven or eight pupils give satisfaction." During the fall Mrs. Soulier started a sewing class for all the girls above eight years of age.¹³⁸

During the months of December, January, and February the colony operated a school in a one-room building which it erected and equipped in Franklin, near the Laurel Road. Antoine Grill served as master, receiving from Soulier six dollars a month given by the treasurer of public education of Burke County.

On October 23 Soulier attended the meetings of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of North Carolina in Greensboro. He was invited to sit as a corresponding member and was introduced as a member of the Waldensian Synod. He addressed the Synod, and a committee was named to reply. His talk "in rather broken English," was intensely interesting. He gave a short history of the Waldensian people and asserted that they had come to North Carolina to become farmers. In Italy they had had farms of from four to five acres, and here they had an average of sixty acres. He predicted that when the people learned the proper method of cultivating the land there would be "many pretty farms where now you see only woods." The Waldenses wished to be good citizens of the United States and "of the noble state of North Carolina in particular." He reported that the present conditions were rather perplexing, since they knew nothing of the climate and soil of the country. He declared that they were eager to erect their church and two schools, toward which about six hundred dollars had already been raised.¹³⁹ The committee replied to Soulier as follows: "The Synod of North Carolina received with appreciation the fraternal greetings of the Waldensian Colony as presented by their pastor: returns to them a message of hearty good will: commends them to the sympathy and support of our people, and prays the continued blessing of God upon this branch of their noble work."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³⁹ *Charlotte Weekly Observer*, Oct. 29, 1894.

¹⁴⁰ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina*, 1899.

The last recorded meeting of the two boards of the Valdese Corporation was held on November 10, 1894.¹⁴¹ By this time, according to a statement by Soulier, the colony had become "a veritable hornets' nest and panic had begun." Soulier realized that something must be done immediately to remedy conditions. He went before the legal board and the officers of the Morganton Land and Improvement Company to learn the true state of the colony finances. He found that the colonists were in debt to the amount of approximately two thousand dollars and that there was no possibility, under existing conditions, of clearing the debt.¹⁴²

Soulier received a sympathetic hearing from the officers of the land company. He was of the impression that at no time did they wish to exploit the colonists. They drew up a paper which was submitted for the approval of the Waldenses. This document provided that: (1) The corporation should deliver all its land as well as the sawmill, ox teams, and other personal property. (2) The company would then sell to each individual the lands which had been assigned by the corporation, accepting notes at 5 per cent. The prices should be those fixed by Dr. Prochet in January, 1894, to which should be added a proportionate part of the debt owed by the corporation. (3) All redeemed bonds held by the colonists should be surrendered, the par value of said bonds to be credited on the purchase price of the farms. (4) Four large tracts containing 1,463 acres would be taken back by the company at the rate of \$2.50 an acre. The ox teams, wagons, and lumber already sawed would be taken by the company at a value to be set by Soulier and the surveyor, Robert Ervin. (5) The unimproved town lots on the north side of the railroad tracks, except those which had already been sold, assigned, or built upon, should be conveyed to the officers of the Waldensian church. The burial ground should be held perpetually as a colony cemetery. Sites should be selected for a church and a school and should be held permanently for those purposes. The remainder of the town lots should be held in trust by the church for sale, with a clause prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors or beverages other than native wines, and with such other restrictions as the officers should determine. The proceeds of all sales should be applied to the maintenance of the church and school. (6) The hosiery mill should be conveyed to the company at a price of \$450. (7) The company would continue to operate the sawmill until January 1, 1896, and would employ as far as possible Waldenses at a

¹⁴¹ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, pp. 76 f.

¹⁴² Letter of Soulier to the author, April 27, 1939.

rate of not less than forty cents a day. (8) The mortgage given by the corporation to the Piedmont Bank and all outstanding bonds should be canceled and the Valdese Corporation should be dissolved. (9) The proposition would be withdrawn unless it was accepted by every stockholder and director of the Corporation by January 1, 1895.¹⁴³

On December 24, 1894, thirty-eight stockholders and directors agreed to the above stipulations; and on the first of January, 1895, a deed was executed between the Valdese Corporation, the Morganton Land and Improvement Company, and the Piedmont Bank by which, on consideration of the cancellation of all its outstanding bonds, the corporation conveyed to the company all of its real estate holdings. This deed, signed by the Reverend John M. Rose, Jr., Jean Jacques Léger, George P. Erwin (president of the Piedmont Bank), and S. T. Pearson, was filed and registered by the Register of Deeds of Burke County on March 2, 1895.¹⁴⁴

When the affairs of the corporation were concluded, it was found that it owed to the company a sum of about two thousand dollars. The company agreed to reduce this debt to fifteen hundred dollars.¹⁴⁵ Soulier then sent a telegram to Dr. Tron, informing him of the action and asking him to assume responsibility for the deficit. He maintained that Dr. Tron was morally responsible for the predicament of the colony. Dr. Tron, a man of means, was financially able to pay off the debt. He accepted Soulier's "sort of ultimatum"¹⁴⁶ and promptly sent the requested sum, thus saving his brethren from losing their lands. There has been no little confusion concerning the amount of money paid by Dr. Tron. It has been believed in Valdese that the sum was considerably larger. Francis Ghigo¹⁴⁷ states that the amount was 18,000 lire. The Reverend S. S. Poet¹⁴⁸ declares that it was 18,000 lire or about \$6,000. Soulier believed in 1939 that "there was a deficit of something like \$10,000."¹⁴⁹ The question is settled by letters in *Le Témoign* and *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*. In 1896 Soulier wrote: "A deficit of about \$2,000 was found. This the company agreed to reduce to \$1,500. It is Mr. Tron who had to assume this debt, for the salvation of the colony."¹⁵⁰ This information is authenticated by Dr. Tron's statement in *L'Écho des Vallées* for July 7, 1898: ". . . in spite

¹⁴³ Letter to the Board of Directors and Stockholders of the Valdese Corporation from the Morganton Land and Improvement Company.

¹⁴⁴ Burke County, Register of Deeds, Vol. A-2, pp. 261-266.

¹⁴⁵ *Le Témoign*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

¹⁴⁶ Letter of Soulier to the author, May 30, 1939.

¹⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ See letter of April 27, 1939.

¹⁵⁰ *Le Témoign*, Oct. 1, p. 313.

of the sacrifices which I have taken upon myself and which amount to more than 10,000 francs, to aid our brothers established in North Carolina, etc."¹⁵¹

Soulier then announced to the colony that the corporation was dead and the indebtedness wiped out. From that time on the colonists were to make their own contracts with the land company and hold their lands in severalty. Many colonists negotiated with the company at once and purchased the property upon which they were living, the par value of their bonds being credited on the purchase price. Others left the more distant tracts and took farms nearer the center of the colony. Some bought farms of forty acres, and others of fifty or sixty, according to what they thought they would be able to pay.

Characteristic of the many sales which were made during the early months of 1895 was that of the property conveyed to Jean and Catherine Guigou, members of the original party. On March 8, 1895, the Morganton Land and Improvement Company sold to them the tract of land including lot number one which was assigned to them in the first land division of June 20, 1893. The farm, located along the north side of the main highway, including the land on which now stand many of the business establishments of Valdese, contained fifty-one and one-third acres, and was sold for \$206.¹⁵²

According to article five of the proposal submitted by the Morganton Land and Improvement Company, the town lots were to be deeded to the church. The company turned over to the trustees of the church the six lots reserved for the church, school, and cemetery, as well as the stone quarry and the pastor's farm, "an ordinary piece of woods."¹⁵³ All of this property was declared untransferable. The other fifty-four town lots were also deeded to the church, with the provisions that they could be rented or sold, and that all proceeds of rentals and sales should "be accounted for and paid over to the treasurer of the Waldensian Church for the benefit of said church and for a school for Waldensian children."¹⁵⁴

The dissolution of the Valdese Corporation brought with it the voiding of Meier's contract and terminated his influential position as vice-president. He was very angry at Soulier, who had always considered him "inept and mischief-making to the highest degree," and a speculator desirous of enriching himself at the expense of the poor

¹⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁵² Deed given by Morganton Land and Improvement Company, registered June 28, 1897.

¹⁵³ *Le Témoin*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

¹⁵⁴ Deed given by Morganton Land and Improvement Company, acknowledged by M. Silver, Notary Public, March 26, 1896.

agriculturalists. Meier threatened one day to shoot the pastor with his rifle.¹⁵⁵ He remained in Valdese for several months, operating his hosiery mill and being named, on March 28, 1895, on the first committee to provide for the building of the church.¹⁵⁶

During the summer of 1895 Meier entered into negotiations with influential citizens of the surrounding communities, seeking their financial support and proposing to move his industry to their town. He called upon Editor Thornton of the *Hickory Press and Carolinian* on July 4 and made a good impression on Thornton, who wrote in his edition of July 11: "... he is a very intelligent gentleman, companionable, and in every sense calculated to impress one most favorably."¹⁵⁷ During a later visit Meier told the Hickory editor that the citizens of Valdese had become discouraged and were planning to break up the colony. The *Press and Carolinian* printed this startling report on August 1. "Several untoward incidents" were cited as the cause for this decision to abandon the venture. "Chief among the factors, it is claimed, is bad treatment. The Waldenses were induced to plant themselves on the most sterile land they could have found in North Carolina, on the bleak scrub pine of nowhere. These poor Italians have worked hard since they have been located there these two years and this year especially, and they will not make enough to pay the interest on the balance they owe for the lands. Some of them have paid for their lands in full and will therefore be compelled to remain. But those of them who have not paid for their lands will leave this autumn." The following prediction was made: "They will go wherever goes Mr. John Meier of the hosiery mill."

This news created a considerable sensation in Valdese and Morganton, and was repeated in other North Carolina papers. Soulier, highly incensed, called a meeting of the church elders and asked them if they knew a single Waldensian who wanted to leave his farm. All replied in the negative. He then called upon Editor Thornton and demanded that he correct the statement.¹⁵⁸

In the August 8, 1895, issue of the *Press and Carolinian* three items appeared: a letter from Meier, a letter from Soulier, and an editorial. Meier explained that the Waldenses were "all right" and when they made a contract "they don't throw it up." He then admitted that he had tried to move his mill away from Valdese "on account of not having enough financial help to make it a good payable [*sic*] business." He affirmed that he had three very good offers from neighbor-

¹⁵⁵ Letter of Soulier, May 30, 1939.

¹⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁶ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 80.

¹⁵⁸ Morganton *Herald*, Aug. 8, 1895.

ing towns and that if he decided to move, he would take along with him all those who had worked in his mill and wished to accompany him. He claimed that from October, 1894, to August, 1895, the operatives had received over one thousand dollars. He concluded: "I have done and still do all I can to advance their welfare financially as well as materially, as well as my own, and I can truthfully say that I am the worst off today of the two as everybody have [*sic*] helped them and but few have tried to help me, hence I am obliged to seek and accept outside help."¹⁵⁹

Soulier was outspoken in his letter to the editor: "You have evidently been induced to write your article by some people whose conscience does not prevent them from telling a lie in the face of all the evidence to the contrary. The fact is that your statement about the breaking up of the Valdese settlement is not only incorrect but utterly untrue from beginning to end." He then made four assertions, as follows: (1) No one of the colonists had expressed the desire to leave during the past six months. (2) They had never been more hopeful about their future. (3) It was probable that other families would soon come from Italy. (4) They had never claimed to have been ill treated by anybody. "They say with grateful hearts that they have received nothing but kindness by their immediate neighbors, by the people of Morganton, and by the citizens of this state at large." Editor Thornton added these words: "We publish the above with much please [*sic*]. There is an inside to this business. We were misinformed."¹⁶⁰

In his editorial Thornton asserted that all which had been printed had been told to him "and very much more besides, and a considerable tale of woe, giving it in minute detail with the names of parties. Now we do not wish to publish all that was told us, for we care nothing about the matter, whether the Waldenses remain at Valdese or where they go." It is wholly probable that Soulier was one if not the only "party" against whom Meier fulminated. The editor then announced Meier's further plans and explained his reasons for wishing to move his industry. He declared that if Meier organized a mill in Hickory he would come there to manage it, leaving a foreman in charge at Valdese. "The truth of the matter is and what is at the bottom of the whole thing Mr. Meier has not enough capital to run the mill as it should be, as it is a better paying investment than he expected. He cannot make enough goods to fill his orders, and there is about fifteen or eighteen per cent profit. He wanted to come to Hickory to get money to run his business and if he were to take his mill from Val-

¹⁵⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁰ *Loc. cit.*

dese it would surely cause a hiatus or most probably an exodus because he has given them their main support and with his mill away they would be sure to suffer."¹⁶¹

In spite of the Hickory editor's enthusiasm for Meier the latter never opened a mill in that city. On leaving Valdese he dismantled his factory and removed to Newton, North Carolina, where he managed a hosiery mill for a year or two. He then went to Manning, South Carolina, where he held a similar position for a brief period. He was later manager of a mill in Bamberg, South Carolina, and then went to Chicago, where he sold stock in a cotton-picking machine venture in which all investors lost their funds. It is believed by some that he spent his last years in Texas. His wife, who was highly respected, remained with her family in Valdese for several years.

Although Meier's operations in Valdese were not a success, the fact that he opened a hosiery mill was of the greatest importance. Under him the Waldensian colonists got their first experience in the textile industry. Some who learned the art of making hosiery in his mill never again turned to agriculture. Several, including the Garrou brothers, followed him to Newton and Manning, where they worked under him. In 1900 the Garrous returned to the colony with an idea, experience, and small savings to undertake the founding of the modest enterprise which has grown into the important industry of today.

The sawmill continued operation, affording employment for several men. It was found that under private management five or six men could do efficiently the work for which fifteen had previously been required.

But the industry of the majority was farming. During the first season of private ownership most of the vineyards were set out. In March the citizens purchased a great many Concord grape vines in Lenoir and one thousand Delaware grape vines in Southern Pines.¹⁶² Most of the families set out about an acre of vines from which they harvested within a few years from four to six hundred gallons of wine as well as many fine table grapes.¹⁶³ They planted large plots of sweet and Irish potatoes, corn, and wheat, which yielded satisfactorily.¹⁶⁴ The North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station interested itself in the agricultural problems of the Waldenses, sending experts to them, and publishing a bulletin which treated the best methods of cultivating the crops best suited to their lands, the best ways of preserving and applying the various kinds of natural manures, and the use of com-

¹⁶¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶² Tourn, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

¹⁶³ Morganton *Herald*, March 14, 1895.

¹⁶⁴ *Le Témoin*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

mercial fertilizers. This bulletin was printed in French and English on alternate pages.¹⁶⁵

Soulier was well occupied during the first few months of this new existence. In addition to his many preaching services, the work in the Sunday School, and the classes for catechumens, he, as well as Mrs. Soulier, gave instruction in French and English. He devoted much time to helping his parishioners, who did not understand the machinery of American real estate operations. Only one, H. Salvageot, was able to speak English fluently.

On March 28, 1895, Soulier called the first general assembly of the "Waldensian Colony of Valdese." At this meeting three problems were resolved. The colony decided to admit on a basis of equality any Waldensian family which had not been a member of the Valdese Corporation, provided it paid to the church the sum of fifty dollars. (This action was later modified several times; on December 5, 1896, the matter of making a payment to the church upon entrance into the colony was left to the free will of the applicant.)¹⁶⁶ It voted to rent some of the church lands at prices considered reasonable by the session. It decided to begin at once on the construction of a church building, and a provisional building committee was named in the persons of Soulier, the elders, Henri Vinay, and John Meier.¹⁶⁷

On Sunday, April 21, 1895, the colony was visited by Secretary Roy of the American Missionary Association. His address to the congregation in English was translated into French by Soulier. He attended the sessions of the Sunday School, the morning service with communion, and the preaching service in the afternoon, noting that all services were in French, with Italian being used interchangeably with it. Roy was on a tour through the South, where there were many missionary churches with workers, like Soulier and Jahier, under the commission of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church. At this time the Valdese church was known as the Evangelical Waldensian Church,¹⁶⁸ the colonists considering themselves a Waldensian congregation in the United States.¹⁶⁹

By early summer it was apparent that conditions had greatly improved. On July 4 the Morganton *Herald* was "glad to say that they have begun to prosper from the moment they abandoned their corporate existence." Some of the families had been able to pay sizable sums toward their farms; others had raised from one third to one half

¹⁶⁵ Morganton *Herald*, July 4, 1895.

¹⁶⁶ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, pp. 91 f.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 79 f.

¹⁶⁸ *The Advance*, May 2, 1895, p. 123.

¹⁶⁹ Letter from Antoine Grill to the author, March 26, 1940.

of the purchase money.¹⁷⁰ Many families had sent their sons and daughters to New York, Philadelphia, and other cities to find work. They sent most of their wages to their parents to help pay for their land. It is said that from one to four youths went from practically every family.

On August 15 the Morganton *Herald* printed a letter, signed "S. E.," who described his visit with Mr. and Mrs. Soulier. The guest was taken to eleven of the colonial farms and was much impressed with the "good work which has been done, and done, too, in the face of many almost inevitable obstacles and disadvantages." Everywhere there were evidences "of the industry and perseverance" of the colonists. On some farms twenty, thirty-six, or thirty-eight bushels of wheat had been raised. With the rocks which had been gathered several colonists had built "good cellars and in many instances roomy stables for their stock." One of the farmers, "a little better off than his compatriots," had built a good two-story house with a capacious stone basement. The people were reported as saying that the worst was over and that their prospects would become brighter each year. The visitor concluded: "They are an industrious, self-supporting race and need nothing from their friends in this country but assistance in building a church and a school, for to them religion and education are specially dear."¹⁷¹

An important source of revenue for the colonists was the work, supervised by Soulier, of getting out stone and sand for the construction of the church and for the enlargement of the manse. This work began in April, and by September the monthly payroll amounted to some thirty dollars. A day's labor was paid at the rate of fifty cents. The carters of sand and stone were paid by the piece.¹⁷² The funds for paying the wages were taken from the money contributed by individual friends of the colony, from the collections of certain churches, and from rentals.

On July 9, 1895, "after many sincere prayers,"¹⁷³ the church separated from the Congregational Church, which had paid the pastor's salary of six hundred dollars a year and Jahier's small salary. Inasmuch as the Waldensian Church has the Presbyterian form of organization and the Congregational Church had no representation in North Carolina, it was decided to unite with the Presbyterian Church in the United States. On the above date the Waldensian Church of Valdese was received by the Concord Presbytery.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷³ *Le Grand Livre*, pp. 30 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1895), p. 375.

¹⁷¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷² *Le Témoin*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

The church has continued this affiliation to the present day. Since the Presbyterian Church in the United States did not grant aid for the educational work of the colony, there was, during the pastorate of Mr. Garrou, some thought of transferring to the Northern Presbyterian Church. Dr. Prochet, who had been requested to provide for this change, informed the session that he did not wish the Valdese church to take the step. He wrote to Pastor Garrou, after the latter had left Valdese, that it was "not honest to pass from the South to the North."¹⁷⁵

Soulier represented his church at the meeting of the Synod of North Carolina in Fayetteville on October 22 and outlined the work of the church in Valdese. In the minutes of the Synod is the following entry: "Rev. Bart. Soulier, pastor of the Waldensian Colony at Valdese, Burke County, had been received into the Presbytery of Concord and his church (with eighty communicants and 220 souls in all) is now enrolled, and those grand and historic people are now a part of our Synod. No doubt the hills of Burke, like the hills and valleys of the Piedmont, are made to echo and re-echo with the sound of the glorious Gospel of Christ from the lips of the descendants of those who kept alive this Gospel fire during the persecutions that blackened the Dark Ages of the past. The Synod has undertaken the support of this work until the colony is fully organized."¹⁷⁶ It continued to pay the pastor fifty dollars a month for several years.

The withdrawal from the Congregational Church brought to an end the assistance given by the American Missionary Association to the schools of Valdese. During the school year 1895-1896 Soulier conducted the center school for four months, aided by Jahier, who gave his services without pay. For three months Antoine Martinat taught the school, receiving twenty dollars out of the church funds. During December, January, and February the school in Franklin was taught by Étienne Perrou, who lived in the neighborhood. He received a stipend of twenty dollars.¹⁷⁷

In 1895, 1896, and 1897 the colony received many gifts in money, clothing, and food. Bethany Church of Philadelphia was much interested in the work and sent two delegates to examine conditions. A collection, taken in Bethany Church, amounting to forty-five dollars, was used to buy flour for the needy. Many other churches and individuals made contributions.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Letter from Pastor Garrou to Antoine Grill, Aug. 6, 1903.

¹⁷⁶ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1895), p. 375.

¹⁷⁷ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 63.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-146. Among the most generous givers was Dr. W. S. P. Bryan, of Chicago.

In July, 1896, Soulier was summoned to Philadelphia to confer with John Wanamaker. He remained in the city a week and was "received everywhere like an old friend." He spent Sunday in Bethany Church, attending the sessions of the Bible Union and Wanamaker's Bible class. He spoke at each service to fifteen hundred to two thousand respectively. Wanamaker expressed his interest in the colony and in the work of evangelization of the Waldensian Church in Italy. He gave Soulier a check for one hundred dollars for the building of the church and a record book, on the first page of which he wrote a friendly message and the amount of his contribution.¹⁷⁹

Soulier continued on to New York in the interest of the colony.¹⁸⁰ He discussed the plans for the church with an architect, a Mr. Munsch, who received a fee of one hundred and forty dollars for drawing the plans.¹⁸¹

On November 10, 1896, Soulier attended the meetings of the Synod of North Carolina in New Bern. He reported the work in good condition, with regular preaching and other religious services. The children and adults were learning to speak English and seemed better satisfied and contented, with a more homelike feeling. There had been seventeen additions to the church, bringing the total number of communicants to one hundred and twelve.¹⁸²

During the school year 1896-1897 Soulier was unable, because of his many other duties, to continue teaching school. It had been hoped to secure further aid from the American Missionary Association in order to pay Jahier, but nothing was done.¹⁸³ The church requested Soulier to make some provision for the children; he agreed to give English lessons to his class of catechumens and any other children over ten years of age who wished to join the class. The children came twice a week. All the other children "were invited to make use of the public school of which we have a right to profit as do our American brothers."¹⁸⁴ Fifty children were enrolled in the Sunday School, directed by the pastor.¹⁸⁵

Few entries appear in the church records for 1896. On the second Sunday in May the church voted to celebrate May 29 as the anniversary of the founding of the colony. It decided to consider as voting member any male of twenty-one years and over who had contributed to the support of the church.¹⁸⁶ A list of voting members was drawn

¹⁷⁹ *Le Témoin*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

¹⁸⁰ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 144.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 146.

¹⁸² *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1896), p. 60.

¹⁸³ *Le Témoin*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

¹⁸⁴ *Livre des Procès Verbaux*, etc., p. 89.

¹⁸⁵ *Le Témoin*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

¹⁸⁶ *Livre des Procès Verbaux*, etc., p. 85.

up, showing, when the registration was closed on December 16, a total of forty-two.¹⁸⁷ On November 23 the congregation decided to name a new building committee and to begin at once with the excavations. Romeo Tagliabue, Henri Perrou, and J. H. Pascal were named.¹⁸⁸

At an assembly held on December 16 three elders and a deacon were elected to replace the officers who had resigned, the parish was divided into three sections, and the inhabitants of the various quarters voted for a candidate from their region. At this meeting Soulier announced that inasmuch as there was no man in Valdese capable of directing the building of the church he had had a very detailed plan made, so that it would not be necessary to engage a contractor. A chief mason who should work along with the other laborers could supervise the construction.¹⁸⁹ The value of the lands owned by the church was set at twelve hundred dollars.

It was voted at this meeting to build a fence round the cemetery which had been laid out on top of the hill about a mile south of the center. The work was to be done gratis, and the expenses for materials were to be divided among the heads of families. The area was then to be parceled into equal plots which were to be distributed by lot.¹⁹⁰ Thirty-five colonists contributed labor and were assessed fifty-seven cents each for materials. Six others, including Soulier, took lots for which they were charged one dollar.¹⁹¹ The original burial ground had been in the pine grove beside the church lot, behind the present Northwestern Bank Building. Two children were buried there, of which one, the son of J. Henri Tron and his wife Marianne Micol, still lies in an unmarked grave. The other, a child of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Pons, was moved to the new cemetery.¹⁹²

During 1896 extensive improvements were made at the manse. On the arrival of Soulier there were but three rooms. Under his direction a cellar was excavated, three rooms were added, a fence was built, and a garden was planted with trees and vines.¹⁹³ Work was given to several church members, most of whom gave some days free, so that the cost of the whole project was less than one hundred and thirty dollars.¹⁹⁴

It has already been seen that the work of collecting sand and stone for the church had begun in 1895. On July 22, 1896, Soulier wrote to

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ See paper entitled "Cimetière de Valdese," drawn up by Soulier on April 29, 1898.

¹⁹² Poet, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁹³ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, Oct. 11, 1900, p. 323.

¹⁹⁴ *Le Grand Livre*, pp. 36 f.

Dr. Prochet that they had already "gathered a good part of the sand and stone necessary to erect our little temple." He had been able to collect about \$1,000 to add to the \$500 which was on hand at his coming. He estimated the cost to be about \$4,000. He stated that he had heard a report that the Waldensian Church would send three thousand francs the day that construction was begun.¹⁹⁵ (As a matter of fact the Mother Church gave one thousand francs in 1899 as its only contribution to the building fund.)¹⁹⁶ The work of excavation started on December 14, 1896. Nine men were employed the first week at five cents an hour.¹⁹⁷

The laying of the cornerstone took place February 17, 1897, in the presence of the entire colony and many friends from Morganton and other near-by towns. The ceremony began in the wooden chapel with prayer and song. Then the assembly went, two by two, led by two representatives of Bethany Church, Philadelphia, Messrs. Wright and Woodrow, who bore Italian and United States flags, to the spot on which the church was to be erected. After seats had been found on stones, timbers, and boards, the service began with hymns, prayer, and Scripture reading. Soulier then preached a sermon appropriate to the occasion, taking his text from Psalm XXXVII, 4-5. Wright placed the cornerstone in position. Within the stone were placed copies of the New Testament in French, Italian, and English; a short history of the colony with the names of the one hundred and twenty members of the church; several Italian and United States coins; and a photograph of Soulier. Wright brought the greetings of Bethany Church and stated his belief that the colonists had wisely chosen the name of Bethany for their church.¹⁹⁸ (There is no further reference to the plan to adopt this name in the colony records.) At the conclusion of his remarks the delegates presented two hundred dollars for the building fund and a "magnificent" photograph of John Wanamaker. (It is interesting to note that the delegates suggested that the photograph be hung in the church. It is against the traditions of the Waldensian Church to expose pictures or images; hence the suggestion was not followed.) The Reverend John M. Rose, Jr., then preached a historical sermon, stressing the emancipation of the Waldenses. The choir, under the direction of J. J. Léger, sang hymns. The exercises were then concluded by words of thanks from Soulier to those who had come from near and far, a hymn, and the benediction pronounced by Rose.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ *Le Témoin*, Oct. 1, 1896, p. 313.

¹⁹⁶ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 151.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁹⁸ MS of remarks, now among Valdeese Presbyterian Church papers.

¹⁹⁹ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, March 11, 1897, p. 74.

After the laying of the cornerstone, work was suspended for several months. Actual construction began during the first week in May and was continued with only short periods of inactivity until November, 1897. Work then ceased for five months and was resumed in May, 1898, from which date it went on continuously until the edifice was completed late in October.²⁰⁰ Practically all the work was done by the colonists themselves, including the quarrying of stone, the masonry, the carpentry, and the common labor. Jean Henri Tron and Barthélemy Bertalot were the master masons, receiving seventy-five cents a day for their services. The other workers were paid sixty cents a day. Several days of labor were donated.²⁰¹ Soulier made frequent trips to collect funds and conducted a voluminous correspondence with prospective donors.

The day on which the cornerstone was laid was chosen also as the date of foundation of a society called *L'Espérance*. Soulier was the organizer and the first president. There were twenty-three charter members. The society had a triple purpose: first, to provide for its members a practical means of mutual edification; second, to enlarge their horizon of useful information; third, to provide a healthy recreation. It became a most active organization and continued its existence for many years. The program of the first meeting is typical. The evening was divided into two parts. The first part was spent in singing hymns, reading the Scriptures, listening to a talk on the text by the pastor and to remarks by the members on the same theme. Prayer closed this portion of the meeting. For the second half of the program Soulier read several extracts from bulletins which had been sent out by the State Experiment Station on the cultivation of potatoes. "This gave rise to a long discussion in which all took part," after which the meeting closed with a hymn and a benediction.²⁰²

Beginning with the year 1896-1897 the colony, with the co-operation of the Woman's Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, was able to open a Christian day school, which was continued until 1905. The board sent several women to serve as teachers. They lived in the house on Massel Street now owned by Mrs. Humbert Léger. They taught in the colony building on the corner of Massel and Faët streets. The first teacher was Mrs. M. E. Morrison, who was "not commissioned." Miss Mary Knox, of Chester, Massachusetts, the first commissioned teacher, remained in Valdese about four years, being assisted successively by the following: Miss Ella C. Abbott; Miss Mary

²⁰⁰ *Le Grand Livre*, pp. 39-54.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Union Chrétienne L'Espérance*, Livre No. 1, pp. 3-14.

A. Le Duc, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Claudia Dinsmore; and Miss Mary H. Morse. Miss Dinsmore, who was in charge from 1902 until 1904, was succeeded by Miss Elizabeth K. von Bergen. The registration during the first year was seventy-five. The largest enrollment was eighty-four, in 1901. In 1904 and 1905 there were but forty-seven pupils.²⁰³ The teachers were assisted by a valued friend of the colonists, Mrs. Marguerite Grant, who came to Valdese from Summit, New Jersey, in 1895.²⁰⁴

During the spring of 1897 there appeared in several American newspapers the statement that because of the great success of the Valdese colony ten thousand acres of land had been purchased in Tennessee, to which would come shortly more than a thousand Waldenses from Italy.²⁰⁵ Soulier, "convinced that there was absolutely no truth in the report," used every effort to deny it. The rumor reached Italy and was published in the *Tribuna* of Rome and in *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*. Pastor Soulier wrote to the editor of *L'Écho*, stating that the report could not have originated in Valdese. In answer to the assertion of the press that the colony had prospered so richly that it had been able to pay off all its debt in four years, instead of the twenty years allowed by the Morganton Land and Improvement Company, Soulier wrote: "Those of the colonists who bought lands four years ago without paying for them, cannot even succeed, for the moment, in paying their annual interest, because of the fact that it is almost impossible to find an opportunity for earning money in this part of the country." He expressed the hope that some industrialist would come to Valdese to establish a factory of some sort. Of those who had been able to purchase their lands without debt he predicted that they would be able "easily to make both ends meet, if God blesses the harvest," which for the moment promised well.²⁰⁶

The church reported to the Synod in 1897 that there were one hundred and thirty members, with several additions during the year. The Sunday School was flourishing. The collections for the year toward the church building amounted to about three hundred dollars.²⁰⁷

In 1898 the Piedmont Bank of Morganton, of which Scaife was a principal stockholder, failed. This bank had held notes of fifteen

²⁰³ *Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1898), p. 207; (1899), p. 246; (1900), p. 210; (1901), p. 213; (1902), p. 234; (1903), p. 253; (1904), p. 239; (1905), p. 239; *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1897), p. 249.

²⁰⁴ *The Church at Home and Abroad*, XVIII, 107.

²⁰⁵ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, April 22, 1897, p. 125.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, May 27, 1897, p. 163.

²⁰⁷ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1897), p. 249.

colonists for an aggregate sum of \$3,411.54, plus interest for three years at 5 per cent. These notes came into the hands of the National Park Bank of New York as security for indebtedness. Inasmuch as the colonists had been unable to pay their interest, the New York bank could have taken advantage of this forfeiture and have claimed the lands. Through its attorney the bank informed Soulier that it planned no harsh measures and that the rights of the purchasers of the land would be preserved if they could pay their interest. The notes were not due until 1915, and the bank offered a reduction in the amounts for those who would shorten the time of payment.²⁰⁸ A few of the colonists took advantage of this opportunity by paying off their indebtedness with funds from other loans, wages for work on the church and in textile factories, and the contributions of the young people who had found work in American cities, thereby making substantial savings.

At about the same time the Morganton Land and Improvement Company found itself in financial difficulties. A trustee was appointed in the person of Weldon T. Smith, who conveyed some of the company's holdings to individual Waldenses.²⁰⁹

During the Spanish-American War two sons of the colony served in the United States Army. Augustus Jacumin, a commissioned officer, served in the Philippine Islands, where he married a native woman. Frederick Griset also volunteered for service. After the war he was employed in the War Department in Washington, D. C.

In the church report of 1898 the Synod of North Carolina was told that the colony was in a more prosperous condition than ever before, the church was nearly completed, although not furnished, and future immigration was assured. Soulier was conducting, in addition to the regular French services in church and Sunday School, a service in English, which was regularly attended by some who had no church connection at all.²¹⁰

It was several months after the completion of the church before it could be furnished. Much assistance came from friends who gave money and equipment. Among the donors were: the Brigham family, of East Orange, New Jersey, which gave the pews; a Mr. Snow, owner of a furniture factory in High Point, North Carolina, who gave the pulpit; Scaife, donor of two hundred books; William E. Dodge, of New York, who contributed one hundred dollars; William Wright, of Bethany Church, who gave eighty-five dollars for the bell; a Mrs.

²⁰⁸ Letter of Attorney Fabius H. Busbee to Soulier, March 26, 1898.

²⁰⁹ Deed from Weldon T. Smith, Trustee, to John Guigou, July 15, 1899.

²¹⁰ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1898), p. 62.

Green, of Baltimore, who gave the communion table and two chairs. Although it is not possible to ascertain from Soulier's accounts the exact cost of the structure, it is certain that the expenses for labor, materials, collecting funds, architect, and furnishings were less than the original estimate of four thousand dollars.²¹¹

The church was dedicated on July 4, 1899. A large crowd had come by train, on foot, on horseback, and in carriages. The church was filled when the six pastors who took part entered and took their places on the platform. After congregational singing in English, led by a Waldensian quartet, Soulier pronounced the invocation. The choir, directed by Jean Jacques Léger and accompanied by one of the teachers, Miss Abbott, rendered a hymn. After the Scripture reading Soulier placed the new Bible, the gift of a Mrs. Miller, of Newark, New Jersey, upon the pulpit. The Reverend John M. Rose, Jr., of Morganton, offered the dedicatory prayer. Soulier preached in French and in English. He was followed by the other pastors, who made remarks "more than laudatory for the Waldenses of North Carolina and the Waldenses of the Valleys." Between the remarks of the visiting ministers there were selections by the school children, who sang in English. Rose brought the service to a close with the benediction. This happy affair was saddened by the sorrow of Mr. and Mrs. Soulier, whose second son, Willie D., died June 13, 1899, at the age of one month.²¹²

Soulier remained in Valdese one more year, carrying on his pastoral work and collecting the money to clear the debt on the church. He reported to the Synod of North Carolina that he was much encouraged in his work. The church was completed and was "a thing of beauty." Only a small debt of a few hundred dollars remained unpaid. Several had joined the church during the year, and a "good school" was being conducted by Misses Knox and Abbott.²¹³

In the Waldensian cemetery of Valdese two small stones mark the resting places of Mr. and Mrs. Soulier's sons William David and Willie D., who died at the ages of thirteen months and one month respectively. These two deaths and the impaired health of Mrs. Soulier caused Soulier to tender his resignation and return to Italy.²¹⁴ He was transferred from Concord Presbytery to the Waldensian Church of

²¹¹ *Le Grand Livre*, pp. 63 ff., 143 ff. It is to be noted that in the *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1899), p. 176, it is stated that the church "cost nearly \$5,000." Probably Soulier reckoned free labor and gifts, for the accounts do not show this sum.

²¹² *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, July 27, 1899, p. 233.

²¹³ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1899), pp. 176 f.

²¹⁴ Letter of Soulier to the author, April 27, 1939.

Italy on July 31, 1900.²¹⁵ He preached his farewell sermon on September 16, "recommending to the grace of God the colonists and his successor." On the evening of the nineteenth of September the congregation met for the last time under his direction. He addressed to his flock "a warm and touching appeal, in which he exhorted it to follow the Good Shepherd." Several members of the church gave expressions of gratitude for the services of Mr. and Mrs. Soulier. A Waldensian wrote to the editor of *L'Écho des Vallées*: "Almost the entire colony was present at these two services. It was a fine tribute of affection which the colonists wanted to give their pastor by coming in such numbers to these last two services." On the day of departure, September 20, 1900, a farewell dinner, attended by practically every head of a family, was given in Soulier's honor. Many toasts were offered. The wine which "rejoiced the hearts of the diners" was made from the grapes harvested by the colonists. After the dinner all accompanied Soulier to the schoolroom to await the five o'clock train. His last official act was the balancing of the account books and the turning over to the elders the sum of forty-three dollars. An eyewitness wrote: "The hour approaches. Mr. Soulier gives to each male a farewell kiss. To the women he gives a hearty hand-shake. Mr. Soulier is very much moved. Tears moisten and redden his eyes. I notice that many men and women also have tears which flow along their cheeks. Some are weeping bitterly. One hears the arriving train. Some final embraces and hand-shakes. He mounts the train, and now he is gone. Mr. Barthélemy Soulier will not forget the twentieth of September, the affectionate demonstration of the Waldensian colonists of North Carolina, the touching farewells and the loving wishes of the crowd which represented the whole colony." Many of the families were represented by all their members; all but two had one or more at the station. Again, in the words of the letter writer: "Why did Mr. Soulier receive such a warm and touching sign of affection? Because he strove to do his duty. Did he always succeed? No, as he has said himself. How many difficulties he had to overcome! It was only by dint of his energy, his perseverance, and his patience that he was able to disentangle the material affairs of the colony and to erect such a beautiful church for the colonists of North Carolina."²¹⁶

The Synod of North Carolina, at its meeting on November 13, 1900, paid the following tribute to Soulier: "The colony had been greatly blessed under the efficient management and ministry of Brother

²¹⁵ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1900), p. 286.

²¹⁶ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, Oct. 11, 1900, p. 323.

Soulier. The people now have a beautiful house of worship completed and entirely free from debt."²¹⁷

Of his leaving the colony Soulier wrote in a letter to the author, April 27, 1939: "I have always regretted that I left the colony. For a long time I nourished the idea of returning to Valdese, but God has not permitted it. I sowed, often with tears, and others came after me to reap the harvest. But what matters it, provided that God's work has been accomplished?"

On his return to Italy, Soulier was employed as evangelist at Rio Marina, Island of Elba, for one year, then at Revere (Mantua) for two years. He later was pastor for twelve years at Clos de Riclaretto and for fourteen years at Villar Pellice. He retired at the age of sixty-five years, but since that time has served as pastor's aid for three years in Turin, two years in a parish in the valleys, and for the past eight years as director of the Umberto-Margherita Old People's Home in San Germano Chisone.

Early in December the Reverend Henri Garrou, brother of Jean and François Garrou, sailed from Italy to assume the pastorate at Valdese. He arrived, after a long, rough passage, in time for the Christmas celebration in which he took part, offering prayer and speaking to the children.

The celebration, held in the new church, was a festive occasion. The room was filled. Two trees were laden with gifts and decorations. The windows were adorned with greenery. The program was furnished by the school children, directed by their teachers, Miss Knox, Miss Le Duc, and Mrs. Grant. They recited in French, Italian, and English and sang in French and English. A correspondent wrote to the editor of *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*: "We believe that there is not a single school in all the United States of America where one can sing and recite in three different languages; that is, a school attended only by the children of peasants."²¹⁸

Garrou found the colony in good condition. He wrote to Dr. Prochet a few months after his arrival, observing that tremendous changes had taken place since the latter's visit to Valdese in 1894: "Almost all the colonists have houses with the first floor of stone and the rest of wood. They have acquired a real talent in the art of house building. The Americans are ashamed of their houses which are like chicken houses as compared to the houses of the Waldenses. All or almost all have fifteen or twenty acres under cultivation, and that

²¹⁷ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1900), pp. 305 f.

²¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, Jan. 17, 1901, p. 19.

makes a very pretty expanse. There are some fine vineyards: they say that the thing that grows the best is the vine, and I can well believe it. They have harvested wheat and Indian corn in quantities sufficient for their needs. The greatest difficulty is the lack of trade. To offset this the young people have to leave the colony to go to various Southern cities and even to New York. Things are going well in the church. The services are attended with great regularity."²¹⁹ Garrou wrote that all those who formerly lived on mountain farms had moved to farms nearer the center so that the colony was unified.

Garrou served as pastor from December, 1900, to May 31, 1903, when he resigned to accept a position at McDonald, Pennsylvania. He later returned to Italy and served as pastor of the Waldensian Church of Perrier-Maneille, where he died. The first church assembly under his direction was held on January 20, 1901. At that meeting two elders and a deacon were elected. Henri Long was named from the "Chapel" quarter and Henri Vinay from the "Town" quarter. Antoine Grill was elected deacon.²²⁰ It was during Garrou's pastorate that much of the property belonging to the church, including the pastor's farm, the quarry, and the lots between the railroad and the Morganton highway, which had been turned over to the church at the time of the dissolution of the Valdese Corporation, was sold. By this time the members of the colony had been able to save a little money and were eager to purchase the fine lots held by the church. Usually the lots were sold at auction, some of the property bringing only fifty dollars for three lots, while a few sold for thirty-five dollars.²²¹ It could hardly be expected that the selling of this valuable town property should not have occasioned hard feelings and jealousies among the parishioners. There were bickerings and accusations. At one time both of the trustees resigned,²²² and a few weeks later the three elders tendered their resignations.²²³ But the work of the church went on with regular preaching services, Sunday School, day school, classes for catechumens, and additions to the membership.²²⁴

In 1901 an event of the utmost importance occurred. In May, John and Francis Garrou and Antoine Grill started operations at the Waldensian Hosiery Mill. This was the first industrial venture undertaken by the Waldenses, and from that time to the present moment industry has increasingly dominated the life of Valdese. For some months

²¹⁹ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, March 28, 1901, p. 102.

²²⁰ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 102.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-116.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 116, 121, 122.

previously the three partners had been working in the hosiery mills of Manning, South Carolina. John Garrou had been a departmental boss at a daily wage of one dollar. Francis Garrou had earned seventy-five cents a day, and Grill, sixty cents. Mrs. Grill had also been employed in a hosiery mill, receiving thirty-five cents a day. Early in 1901, the three had saved about three hundred and forty dollars. The Garrou brothers left Manning for Valdese to investigate the possibilities of starting a mill there. Having secured the promise of financial backing, they sent for Grill to join them. The partners sought the legal counsel of W. C. Ervin, of Morganton, who advised them to circulate a petition among the church members, requesting permission to purchase a part of the pastor's farm along the railroad line. Four acres were secured at a cost of forty dollars, which sum the church loaned to the partners at 5 per cent interest. Through Ervin and Mrs. Grant fifteen hundred dollars was secured from a Northern capitalist, Richard Allen, of Chatham, New Jersey, who received as security mortgages on the Garrou and Grill farms and the word of Ervin that the partners were industrious and honest.

Thus supplied with funds, Garrou and Grill cleared their land and erected a frame building which they covered with sheet metal. Twelve Boss knitting machines were purchased, as well as ribbing and looping machines. A steam boiler and engine furnished the power. Francis Garrou took charge of the ribbing machines, while Jean Garrou superintended the dyeing. Grill oversaw the finishing. The Reverend Henri Garrou was of great assistance in the new enterprise, serving as adviser and bookkeeper. The daily capacity was at first from eighty to one hundred dozen pairs.²²⁵

The factory employed less than twenty hands when operations were inaugurated on May 8, 1901. The first product, grey cotton hose, was sold to the Newton Hosiery Mills. Later, dyed goods were manufactured and sold through jobbers in New York City. The prevailing wage scale was from forty to fifty cents for the men and boys, and thirty-five cents for the women.²²⁶ Some who did piece work received considerably less for a day's work. The three partners allowed themselves only five dollars a month.

The beginnings were discouraging. "We were very near bankruptcy so often, so very often. It seemed as if we would not be able to re-open the next morning. But God protected us. In those years at

²²⁵ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, March 28, 1901, p. 102.

²²⁶ Mrs. John Garrou, then Mrs. Guigou, states that she received only fifteen cents for a day of eleven hours.

night I rose from my bed, put myself on my knees and begged God to cause things to go well," declared John Garrou recently.²²⁷ Perhaps the venture would have been declared bankrupt if the owners had not felt that they could not fail their American friends who had supported them financially.

In 1905 Grill was obliged to sell his share in the business and seek work elsewhere in order to pay his debts. Francis Garrou also sold his interest and worked for a time in Spartanburg, South Carolina. He later returned to the business with several secondhand machines. Frank Tron was for a time a partner in the enterprise, but soon sold his interest. Jean Louis Garrou, Jr., was admitted as partner with his father and uncle.²²⁸ The business was incorporated in 1914.

Such were the difficult beginnings of the company which has grown steadily and has continued operation to the present day. It now has a weekly production of about 12,000 dozen pairs of men's hose and 2,200 dozen pairs of ladies' full-fashioned hose. It employs about 475 hands with a weekly payroll of \$7,000, and is capitalized at \$764,560. Its management is now in the hands of Albert F. Garrou, son of founder John Garrou.²²⁹

During his brief pastorate Garrou did not represent the church of Valdese at the sessions of the Synod of North Carolina. He had been admitted to Concord Presbytery from the Waldensian Church of Italy on April 16, 1902. In the annual report to the Presbytery for 1902 it is recorded: "Rev. H. Garrou has charge of the important and encouraging work at Valdese. The colony of Waldensians is in a prosperous condition. Two services are conducted each Sunday and regular Wednesday evening prayer meeting is observed. A good day school is taught by teachers provided by the Northern Presbyterian Church. There have been ten additions to the church during the last year. Brother Garrou writes: 'The Waldensians find their best pleasure in their church and they wish to express all their gratitude to the many friends in North Carolina who help them so kindly in the support of their pastor. Be yourself our interpreter and tell all our friends that we are not ungrateful to those who love us.'"²³⁰

Pastor Garrou was transferred on June 30, 1903, to Monongahela Presbytery.²³¹ At the congregational meeting of May 31, 1903, at which

²²⁷ *Corriere della Sera*, July 12, 1939, p. 3.

²²⁸ The data in reference to the factory were furnished by Antoine Grill, John Garrou, and others connected with the beginnings of the industry.

²²⁹ Letter of A. F. Garrou to author, Oct. 31, 1939.

²³⁰ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1902), p. 636.

²³¹ *Ibid.* (1903), p. 53.

he announced his resignation, three members of the church "expressed their sympathy and gratitude to the pastor for his work, and their regret to see him leave."²³² After his departure the session of the church supervised the carrying on of the work. Many lots were sold, church funds were loaned, and a subscription of \$75.75 was raised to augment the \$400.00 which the Committee of Synodical Home Missions was at that time granting toward the pastor's salary.²³³ The Valdese congregation kept up an interest in the work of Garrou, for, in 1905, a special collection amounting to \$22.50 was taken for his church at McDonald, Pennsylvania.²³⁴

On November 28, 1903, the Reverend Filippo E. Ghigo arrived from Canada to become pastor in Valdese. He had been persuaded by Dr. Prochet to assume the post.²³⁵ En route to Valdese he had stopped in Pittsburgh to call upon his predecessor, Garrou.²³⁶ Ghigo was born in Prali on December 20, 1868, and had been educated at the college of Torre Pellice, the Waldensian Theological Seminary in Florence, and the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig. After two years of missionary labors in Switzerland he was sent to South America, where he was pastor of the churches of Ombúes de Lavalle, Uruguay, and of the Province of Santa Fé, Argentina.²³⁷

The new pastor was hampered in his work at Valdese, on many occasions, by his health.²³⁸ He was able, however, to carry on the regular program of work. The membership of the church was now one hundred and thirty-four. Sunday School, two Sunday services, mid-week prayer meeting, and the Young People's Society were maintained and well attended. His labors were satisfactory to the Home Missions Committee, which reported that he had "proved himself to be the right man in the right place."²³⁹

Ghigo devoted much time to the collection of funds for the school which they proposed to build on the church property. The fund had been started during the term of Pastor Garrou.²⁴⁰ The initial subscription, given by Marvin F. Scaife, was \$100.²⁴¹ Among the contributors

²³² *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 122.

²³³ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, pp. 123-129.

²³⁴ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 162.

²³⁵ Letter of Dr. Matteo Prochet to Antoine Grill, July 7, 1904.

²³⁶ Letter of Mr. Ghigo to session, Nov. 23, 1903.

²³⁷ Letter of Mr. Ghigo's son, Professor Francis Ghigo, to author, March 3, 1939, and Tourn, *op cit.*, p. 96.

²³⁸ Letter of Dr. Prochet to Antoine Grill, July 7, 1904.

²³⁹ *Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina* (1904), p. 197.

²⁴⁰ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, March 28, 1901, p. 102.

²⁴¹ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 191.

were many friends from New York, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. The Honorable Robert Ogden, of New York, sent \$20. The members of the Valdese church gave small sums according to their means.²⁴² A total of \$383.75 was donated; receipts from interest and other sources brought the amount to \$444.59.²⁴³ Before a sufficient sum could be raised conditions changed, making it unnecessary for the colony to build a school. Accordingly, the campaign was abandoned.

In 1905 Miss von Bergen was the teacher of the colony school. She left Valdese early in the year under unpleasant circumstances. The session of the church wrote to the Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America on January 18, telling of her withdrawal. Two months later the Board replied, expressing its regret at the situation and announcing that it "had no desire to thrust its work on any community," and that it believed that "the Waldensians, for whom we have the highest respect, will now be able to take care of their own school." It expressed its joy that so much prosperity had come to the community and its gratitude for the kindness that had been shown its teachers.²⁴⁴ From that year on the education of the children of the colony was in the hands of the Board of Education of Burke County.

On December 27 the Waldensian Church conveyed to Burke County a plot of land to the east of the church. Here, on the spot now occupied by the new Sunday School building, the county erected a two-room schoolhouse. This building was enlarged as the community grew so that by 1923 there were six classrooms in use. Three hundred dollars of the money which had been collected for the Waldensian school was given to the county. The remainder was carried on the church books as "School Fund" until 1909, when it was transferred to the church accounts.²⁴⁵

With the opening of the county school in Valdese a school committee was named. In 1909 the committee was composed of Antoine Grill, P. A. Bollinger, and James Powell. Mr. Grill has remained a member to the present time. Others have been Francis Garrou, J. M. Brinkley, L. P. Guigou, M. H. Rutherford, and Edward Micol. The present organization is Antoine Grill, chairman and treasurer; L. P. Guigou, secretary; M. H. Rutherford, business manager; and J. M. Brinkley and Edward Micol.

On May 28, 1905, the church voted to follow the new regulations

²⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 191-193.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

²⁴⁴ Letter from Secretary Ella A. Boole to Messrs. Henry Long and F. Henry Pascal, March 16, 1905.

²⁴⁵ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 199.

of the Waldensian Church of Italy as adopted by the Synod in September, 1903. Although a majority was in favor of accepting the new code, several members opposed it. Elder Henry Long resigned his position when adoption was voted.²⁴⁶ The church was in a satisfactory financial condition at this time. Many of the lots had been sold; the members were able to contribute more liberally; a considerable income came from funds which had been loaned and from interest on property which had been sold. In 1906-1907 the congregation contributed one hundred and fifty dollars toward the pastor's salary.²⁴⁷

In 1905 Valdese was visited by the Italian Ambassador to the United States, the Baron Mayor des Planches. He was much impressed with the colony and wrote at length concerning his visit in the *Nuova Antologia* of February 16, 1906. He inspected the hosiery mill, the three stores, and the homes, of which there were about forty. He found all the colonists making a living from their own farms, on which they were raising wheat, maize, oats, vegetables, potatoes, eggs, and poultry. Each family had about an acre of grapes which produced from four hundred to six hundred gallons of wine, some of which was sold. The United States Department of Agriculture had donated several mulberry trees, which had been planted in hopes of establishing the culture of silkworms. The Ambassador noted that the colonists were happy, independent, and although not rich, no longer in financial difficulties. There were forty-five families with a total population of approximately three hundred. In the cemetery there were already fifty graves. The property of the colonists was insured for over \$16,000. Whereas during the first year only one carload of fertilizer had been used, in 1906 forty had been purchased. The Ambassador was pleased to see displayed several coats of arms of the house of Savoy, and, in the post office, the portraits of the Italian kings and queens, Garibaldi, Cavour, and Mazzini, along with those of Jefferson, Washington, McKinley, and Roosevelt.²⁴⁸

During Ghigo's pastorate a new industry was started in Valdese. A small roller mill was installed by a group of Waldensian farmers on the corner of Massel and Rodoret streets, "but, as everything in common among the Waldenses, it went out of business in a very few years."²⁴⁹ In 1908 the industry was revived with the erection by Fred Meytre of a water power flour mill at the Falls. This mill has been operated continuously to the present day.²⁵⁰ A third roller mill was

²⁴⁶ *Livre des Procès Verbaux, etc.*, p. 133.

²⁴⁷ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 168.

²⁴⁸ Tourn, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-122.

²⁴⁹ Letter to author from Antoine Grill, April 27, 1940.

²⁵⁰ Poet, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

built some years later by James Powell at the corner of Massel and Praly streets. This mill and a woodworking plant were later moved to Powell's farm across the Southern Railway tracks and are still in operation, under different management.

Early in the following year Ghigo resigned the pastorate to accept a position in Scranton, Pennsylvania. He was succeeded by the Reverend Jean Pons. The latter, a native of Massello, was educated at the college of Torre Pellice, the Waldensian Seminary of Florence, and the University of Geneva. Before coming to America he had held posts in Rodoretto, Rio Marina, Elba, and La Maddalena, Sardinia. He reached Valdese on January 21, 1907, and remained until October 28, 1909. He speaks of his first pastorate in Valdese as "years of joy." He preached regularly in French, conducted classes for students of the catechism, and received several young people into church membership.²⁵¹ During his term of service needed repairs were made at the cemetery and the church. There were forty-eight members on the list of voters.²⁵²

Pons resigned because of his desire to improve his financial condition, for he was paid but four hundred dollars a year. After preaching for four months in Scranton he became pastor of the Rockaway Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn. From there he went to Rochester, New York, where he was instrumental in building the First Italian Presbyterian Church. He served later with the Italian Presbyterian Mission of Hamilton, Ontario.

From the departure of Pons until December 12, 1913, the church of Valdese was without a pastor. The Reverend Dugald Munroe, who was pastor of Presbyterian churches in Marion and Glen Alpine, supplied the church for several weeks during the spring of 1910. The activities were conducted regularly under the direction of the session made up of J. H. Pascal, Henri Martinat, and J. Henry Pascal, elders, and Antoine Grill and J. L. Garrou, deacons. Pastor Henry Garrou installed these officers on July 22, 1910, during a visit to his former parish.²⁵³

On August 28, 1910, the congregation met to try to secure a new pastor. It voted to contribute \$300 to add to the same amount allowed by the Synod's Committee of Home Missions.²⁵⁴ A subscription list was opened and \$145 was raised on the spot. It decided at this assembly to sell the tract of land known as the pastor's farm.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ Letters to author, Oct. 28 and 31, 1939.

²⁵² *Livre des Procès Verbaux*, etc., pp. 135-139.

²⁵³ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, p. 10.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

The voting members of the church met again on February 5, 1911, to elect a pastor. A call was extended to Pastor Pierre Chauvié of the Waldensian Church of Rio Marina, Island of Elba.²⁵⁶ This pastor refused the position.

Dr. C. A. Munroe, of Hickory, Superintendent of Home Missions, preached frequently in Valdese during the period when there was no pastor. He was active in trying to find a leader for the Valdese congregation.²⁵⁷ In 1911 the church was supplied for a few weeks by two of its former pastors, Messrs. Ghigo and Pons. On December 10, 1911, the voting members decided to call the Reverend P. E. Monnet, of Cleveland, Ohio, who declined to accept.²⁵⁸

By June, 1912, the church members were becoming discouraged. At the annual congregational meeting held on June 2, Elder Martinat remarked that "the spiritual life is almost extinguished in the church, because of the lack of a pastor, which is ardently deplored." At the same meeting public thanks were given the session for its efforts in maintaining the services of Sunday School, Sunday worship, and the classes for catechumens. It was decided to send an appeal to the Venerable Table of the Waldensian Church, asking it to send a pastor, able to preach in French and English.²⁵⁹ Toward the end of the year the session reported that no reply had been received from the Table.²⁶⁰

Services were continued as usual. In June, July, and August, 1912, Pastor Ghigo preached regularly. Pastor Pons occupied the pulpit in January of the following year. The lack of a regular leader's influence was clearly manifested when, on March 2, 1913, Elders Martinat and J. H. Pascal (Balsille) resigned because of the receipt of an anonymous letter, postmarked Connelly Springs, "full of insolence and scorn."²⁶¹ The writer announced himself,²⁶² and at a subsequent congregational meeting the two officers were re-elected to their positions.²⁶³

On March 30, 1913, the congregation met to hear a letter which had been received from the Venerable Table. This body had demanded that the church guarantee their pastor a salary of \$600 per annum, and \$80 to pay his expenses from Italy. It was voted unanimously to authorize the session to give the required guarantee.²⁶⁴ Later the sum for traveling expenses was raised to \$100. This amount was forwarded on April 1, 1913, to the moderator, B. Léger.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14. Letter from Secretary S. L. Morris to C. A. Munroe, March 10, 1913.

²⁵⁸ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, p. 20. ²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21. ²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.* See letter from Table to session, March 5, 1913.

²⁶⁵ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 206. See Moderator Léger's letter of thanks to session, April 19, 1913.

The church was able to send regular, if not large, contributions to the various causes of the Presbyterian Church. It also made donations to some of its members who were in financial difficulties. Several loans for considerable sums were made to various members. On November 16, 1913, a subscription was taken to raise the \$300 required to pay the pastor. Over \$200 was raised at once, and it was decided to take the remainder from the church funds.²⁶⁶

At the congregational meeting held on that date the members studied with the greatest interest "the request of Mr. Upchurch, of Morganton, N. C., to have a piece of the pastor's farm." He was the spokesman of a group who wished to construct a cotton mill in Valdeese. The congregation "by a large majority was in favor of selling this piece of land."²⁶⁷ The vote was promptly reported to Upchurch, who, two days later, wrote that he would come immediately to Valdeese and who asked the session to "have everything in readiness for a trade."²⁶⁸ On December 8, 1913, the church sold to the "Cotton Mill Company" ten acres of the farm along the railroad line at \$40 an acre. This considerable addition to the church treasury brought the total of funds on hand to nearly \$2,000.²⁶⁹

The company was incorporated on December 12, 1913, under the name of the Valdeese Manufacturing Company. The funds for the new enterprise, which was intended to satisfy the "need felt by the management of the Waldensian Hosiery Mills for a better hosiery yarn with no freight delays,"²⁷⁰ were furnished by the Waldensian Hosiery Mill stockholders, and by Morganton businessmen,²⁷¹ among whom was A. M. Kistler,²⁷² a wealthy mill operator.

A 5,000-spindle factory was built, equipped, and put into operation by the summer of 1915. In 1919 it was necessary to build an 8,000-spindle addition. This unit was ready for operation in June, 1920. The original building was made substantially of brick. The addition was of stone. The masonry work was all done by local Waldensian masons. It was necessary to build many homes for the operatives. Each house was equipped with running water and electricity. There was a garden spot on every lot.²⁷³

The business proved successful from the start. During the war

²⁶⁶ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, p. 30. ²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ Letter from Upchurch to H. Martinat, Nov. 18, 1913.

²⁶⁹ *Le Grand Livre*, p. 208.

²⁷⁰ *Valdeese, North Carolina* (Valdeese Manufacturing Company, n. d.).

²⁷¹ Poet, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²⁷² *Valdeese, North Carolina*.

²⁷³ *Valdeese, North Carolina*.

years the mill was operated day and night, turning out some of the best soft twist hosiery yarns in the South.²⁷⁴

John Louis Garrou, son of John Garrou, who had been sent by his father to study textile methods in New England, where he had acquired a good knowledge of the mechanical aspects of the industry, was the most influential Waldensian connected with the beginnings of the cotton mill. His personality, business acumen, and untiring effort enabled him to win the confidence of A. M. Kistler and associates of Morganton. This connection made it possible for him to develop and add materially to the manufacturing industries in Valdese. Not only did John Louis Garrou serve as dynamic promoter of the cotton mill, but he also held important posts in the town, county, and state, serving as road supervisor and director of the campaign for the sale of Liberty Bonds and Savings Stamps during the First World War. While ministering to his sick workers during the influenza epidemic of 1918 he became infected and died of double pneumonia.

In 1919 Francis Garrou was named secretary and treasurer of the company and he remained as executive head of the industry until his death in 1937.²⁷⁵ At that time there were about two hundred employees who received approximately \$2,500 weekly.²⁷⁶ Today the capital and surplus amount to about \$450,000. A weekly payroll of approximately \$3,000 is paid to the two hundred and twenty-five hands. Each week 55,000 pounds of high-class carded single knitting yarns are manufactured. The mill also dyes yarns for the knitting and weaving trade, having a weekly capacity of 20,000 pounds.²⁷⁷

Another textile business was started at about the same time. The Banner Knitting Mills, owned by the Martinat brothers and C. J. Seeley, began operations in East Valdese in 1913. The establishment was operated under that name until May, 1920, when the Martinats bought Seeley's interest and reorganized the industry under the name of the Martinat Hosiery Mills. The plant was electrified and generally overhauled and beautified. Dwelling houses were erected for its employees. New machinery was installed, doubling the capacity of the mill.²⁷⁸ Mr. Henry F. Martinat has been manager since 1920. Seamless half hose and ladies' cuff-top hose are made. The plant has a force of about one hundred workers and a weekly payroll of \$1,500.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Morganton *Herald*, Nov. 26, 1937.

²⁷⁶ *The State*, Raleigh, N. C., IV, 26.

²⁷⁷ Letter from Mr. L. P. Guigou to author, Nov. 3, 1939.

²⁷⁸ *Valdese, North Carolina*.

²⁷⁹ *The State*, IV, 26.

On October 23, 1913, Moderator Léger of the Waldensian Church wrote to Elder Henry Pascal that a pastor had been secured for the church of Valdeese. The Reverend Émile Henri Tron and his young wife were planning to sail for America on November 18.²⁸⁰ Tron was born in Massello on June 16, 1884. He had been educated at the college of Torre Pellice, the Waldensian Theological Seminary, and in Edinburgh. He had been ordained in Torre Pellice on September 4, 1911. He had served as assistant pastor in Palermo, in Naples, and in Rome as aid to Pastor E. Comba.²⁸¹

Tron arrived in Valdeese on December 10, 1913. "Thankfulness to God and the Administration of the Waldensian Church came from the heart" of all the congregation. He met with the session for the first time on December 12 and thanked it "for having held services every Sunday during the four years when the church was without a pastor, praising the session for not having abandoned the worship and for having provided the children, without interruption, with a Sunday School. All of this had encouraged him to come to serve the church." The members of the session gave evidence of their humility by including in the minutes the following resolution: "Have we done all that we could for the good of the church? We must do better in the future, and show our gratitude and our sympathy with all our ardor in order to facilitate the task of our pastor and his young companion."²⁸²

Tron was possessed of a jovial character and a personality which attracted people to him. He was very companionable, and his conversation was marked with wit and brilliance.²⁸³ He was well beloved during his pastorate of three years, and there was real sorrow in Valdeese when he responded to his country's call to the colors in April, 1916.

His impressions of the colony and of his years in Valdeese are recorded in a letter which he sent to *L'Écho des Vallées* some time after his return to Italy. He had found the country very attractive. He had been surprised to find so much land uncultivated. He observed the numerous billboards which were in evidence along the highways, and the presence of many birds and small animals near Valdeese. He reported fine vegetable gardens on every farm, well-kept vineyards, and large fields of wheat, oats, maize, barley, Irish and sweet potatoes, and sorghum. "Mutuality and co-operation are a characteristic of the life of the colony." The neighbors aided each other at the time of harvest-

²⁸⁰ Letter of Moderator Léger to Elder Pascal, Oct. 23, 1913.

²⁸¹ *La Luce*, Rome, Jan. 28, 1931.

²⁸² *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, p. 32.

²⁸³ *La Luce*, Jan. 28, 1931.

ing and threshing the grain, and of the gathering of grapes during the first two weeks of August. This season was the time of many suppers in the open air, with as many as twenty guests spending the evening telling stories, singing, and drinking wine. "No one drinks too much. The young people drink very little wine." He was much interested in the cornhuskings on moonlight nights when "noisy, joyous, and numerous companies" worked, laughed, and sang together. Each farmer could have all the land which he desired, had improved agricultural implements, and could work his land the year round. The housewives canned great supplies of fruits and vegetables. On their shelves were hundreds of glass jars of peas, carrots, beans, tomatoes, cherries, "magnificent" peaches, pears, and apples. He reported that there was but little dairying in Valdese. "There are few natural meadows or pastures." "This life is much less rude than with us." He lamented that the soil was not very rich and that too much commercial fertilizer was used. Industry was developing in an extraordinary fashion.²⁸⁴

On February 17, 1914, under the new pastor's leadership, the colony celebrated the anniversary of civil and religious liberty. With few exceptions this event has been commemorated every year since 1914.²⁸⁵

During Tron's pastorate the remainder of the pastor's farm was divided into lots, and laid out in streets which were given the Italian names of Arnaud Alley, Janavel Alley, St. Germain Street, Valdo Street, and Colombo Street.²⁸⁶ On April 18, 1914, thirteen lots were sold at public auction. Most of them were purchased by Waldenses and were paid for largely in cash, so that a sum of nearly seventeen hundred dollars was added to the church funds on July 1, 1914. The three lots nearest the church were reserved for its use.²⁸⁷

Work was begun during the summer of 1914 on repairs and improvements of the church. It was necessary to lay a new floor, the original one having rotted because no allowance had been made for the circulation of air under it. The interior and the façade were white-washed, and a gasoline system of lighting was installed. The ceiling was stained and the pews were treated with crude oil. Coal-burning stoves were installed. The work was finished early the following year at a cost of about five hundred dollars. The total expense was greatly reduced by free labor of the members, the sale of old materials, and voluntary contributions.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, LIII, June 8, 1917.

²⁸⁵ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, p. 33.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34. See *La Luce*, Jan. 28, 1931.

²⁸⁷ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, p. 36. ²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39, 41, 45.

In May, 1915, there was conceived another industry which was destined to have a phenomenal growth and to bring much credit to the Waldensian colony. At that time John P. Rostan and Philip Ghigo came from New York to Valdese for the purpose of building and operating a bakery for the production of bread, pies, cakes, spaghetti, macaroni, and other products. It took several months to erect the substantial building of stone and brick at the corner of Colombo Street and U. S. Highway 70. Local Waldensian carpenters and masons did most of the work. The oven was installed by a contracting firm from New York City.²⁸⁹

Baking was begun in the latter part of August, 1915. There was a store in the bakery, and most of the customers bought their bread here and in the two retail stores near-by. For a period of about two months deliveries were made in Morganton, Drexel, Rutherford College, and Connelly Springs by horse and buggy. Then a truck with very high wheels, capable of using the rough and deeply rutted roads of the time, was purchased. During the winter the roads were frequently impassable. Rostan then used a wheelbarrow to transport his wares to the railroad station. He often walked to the neighboring towns, got his products at the depot, and peddled them from baskets.²⁹⁰

The business was well established by the time the United States entered the World War. Then it became impossible to secure the necessary flour. The customers were not satisfied with the products made from substitutes, and for a time operations were suspended. The owners left Valdese and returned to New York, but after the war they reopened their bakery in Valdese. As the North Carolina highways were improved, the business grew rapidly, new branches were opened, and new routes were begun. In 1929 a new bakery on the highway was built. Today there are more than thirty-five Waldensian Baking Company trucks distributing bread to North and South Carolina and Tennessee from the main bakery and its branches in Morganton, Lenoir, Hickory, and Shelby. One hundred and forty employees receive about \$3,500 weekly.²⁹¹

In December, 1914, the Valdese church voted to adopt the latest regulations of the Mother Church. These called for silent individual confession of sin and for singing after the confession. The collections were to be taken at the seats rather than at the door as formerly. The church rolls were gone over, and several names were omitted because

²⁸⁹ *Valdese, North Carolina*; letter of J. P. Rostan to author, March 11, 1940.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *The State, loc. cit.*; Poet, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

of regular absence, "in spite of the repeated invitations of the session as well as of the congregation." The revised roll included forty-nine voting members. There was in the treasury over \$3,300 after all the bills for the repairs on the church had been paid.²⁹²

The church work flourished during the pastorate of Tron. On May 30, 1915, it was voted to adopt the "every member canvas" proposed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. On that date it was decided to discontinue the silent prayer which had been inaugurated in accordance with the new regulations of the Waldensian Church. Many additions were made to the church membership from among the young people of the community and by readmissions. For the year 1915-1916 there were 169 communicants and a Sunday School enrollment of seventy. There were fifty-six voting members. The church contributed \$113 to the benevolent causes of the Presbyterian Church. Frequent collections were taken for the work of evangelization in Italy and the war work of the Mother Church.²⁹³

In 1915 two new industries were organized in Valdese. On May 12 the Valdese Roller Mills was incorporated with seventeen stockholders, of whom thirteen were Waldenses. John H. Pascal and R. M. Williams held more shares than any other individual. The object of the new business was the erection of a mill for the purpose of making flour and other cereal products. The company was never very successful, and its charter was canceled in 1919 for failure to file a report with the Corporation Commission.²⁹⁴ The Waldensian Swiss Embroidery Mill was inaugurated at this time. H. Clot and P. Bounous, who came to Valdese from New York City, sold stock and erected a factory of stone and brick. They installed three machines to make embroidery, and the necessary accessory machines. Manufacturing was begun the same year. In 1919 a fourth machine was added to the equipment. The output of the mill was about four hundred thousand stitches a week. Fine embroideries and novelties were produced by about thirty-five operatives. When the public ceased purchasing embroideries, the industry languished and the company was liquidated. The factory was then taken over by the Valdese Weaving Company, which belongs to the Shuford interests of Hickory. Weaving equipment was installed, and high-grade tapestries for furniture upholstery are now produced from cotton and rayon.²⁹⁵

²⁹² *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, pp. 42-44; *Le Grand Livre*, p. 210.

²⁹³ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, pp. 45-51; *Le Grand Livre*, p. 211.

²⁹⁴ Records of Secretary of State of North Carolina, 13,237, filed June 28, 1915.

²⁹⁵ *Valdese, North Carolina*.

On April 2, 1916, Tron announced to the session that he had been called for military service. Upon his arrival in Italy he found that his services were not required in the army. He was named pastor of the Waldensian Church of Rodoretto. Toward the end of the war he was for several months on active service as chaplain. From 1919 to 1920 he worked so diligently as director of the Gould Institute in Rome that his health failed and he was required to return to the mountains. He spent a year recuperating and then became pastor at Luserna San Giovanni, in 1922. He remained there, except for a period when he was sent on a mission to England, until his death on January 18, 1931. He was a "faithful minister, a man straight-forward in all circumstances, with a high sense of duty, a man who served humbly and willingly in the Saviour's name."²⁹⁶

On April 9, 1916, the congregation elected the former pastor Filippo E. Ghigo, then professor and head of the Italian division of the Theological Seminary of Bloomfield, New Jersey, for a second pastorate. He accepted the call and on June 7, 1916, took up his duties. During his brief second term the church raised several sums of money for the mission work in Italy, the orphanage in Torre Pellice, and the Waldensian soldiers stationed in Turin. It increased the pastor's salary and contributed more generously to the causes of the Presbyterian Church. On several Sundays he was unable to preach because of illness. On Sunday, December 16, 1917, he died in an Asheville hospital. He was buried in the cemetery of Valdese.²⁹⁷

On February 3, 1917, the first banking institution of Valdese, the Valdese Credit Union, was incorporated. Antoine Grill was named secretary-treasurer at the time of organization, and he has remained in charge of the enterprise to the present time. The Union, much like the savings department of other banks, operates under the laws of North Carolina. Money for deposit may be received from any source, but borrowers must own at least one share of stock and live within Lovelady Township. In 1917 the capital was about \$75. Its present assets and liabilities are approximately \$125,000. On December 31, 1939, there were 295 stockholders, 420 depositors, and 184 borrowers. Deposits were \$85,963.25. The loans "are made for building or progressive purposes, hardly for luxuries, if we know it." In 1928 its name was changed to the Valdese Savings and Loan Association, but the original name was assumed a few years later. The directors, officers, and committee members are all Waldenses.

²⁹⁶ *La Luce*, Jan. 28, 1931.

²⁹⁷ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, pp. 56-66.

An interesting light on the methods of the association and the confidence in its managers by the depositors is afforded by the practice which was for a long time in vogue. On paydays of the Valdese mills Mr. Grill, on the invitation of the mill managements, passed among the operatives, collected their savings and their deposit books, and, without giving any receipts, returned to his office, where he entered the deposits on the Union's and the depositors' books. On the following day he returned the books to the depositors.²⁹⁸ The office of the Credit Union has always been located in the former home of Mr. Grill, 43 St. Germain Street.²⁹⁹

This was the only banking concern in Valdese until August 17, 1933, when the Valdese Building and Loan Association was incorporated. The Reverend John Pons was elected secretary-treasurer. He has continued in charge of the business to the present day in the association's quarters on the main highway.

On February 27, 1917, the Valdese Co-operative Store was organized. Its building was on the main highway. It continued operations until 1938, when it failed.

At an extraordinary session of the electoral body on January 27, 1918, former pastor John Pons, of Hamilton, Ontario, was again elected to serve the Valdese church.³⁰⁰

During the World War seventeen sons of the colony served in the United States Army and Navy. Two, Albert Garrou and Victor Micol, were volunteers. Several saw service with the American Expeditionary Forces and all returned in safety.

Many important changes in the organization of the church were made during Pons's second term. At a church assembly held on June 2, 1918, it was decided that the finances of the church were in such a condition that it would be possible to meet the expenses from the first of October, 1919, without any further assistance of the Committee on Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.³⁰¹ The pastor's salary was increased to seven hundred dollars a year. On January 1, 1920, the church assumed all the expenses of its work.³⁰² In 1918 the remaining lots of the pastor's farm and the stone quarry were sold. In 1917 the church had bought Mrs. Grant's house,³⁰³ which was repaired and used as the manse. After the death of Pastor Ghigo his widow and children remained in the old manse, which was sold

²⁹⁸ Letter from Mr. Antoine Grill to author, Feb. 15, 1940.

²⁹⁹ On Jan. 1, 1941, this bank was merged with the Northwestern Bank. Mr. Grill continued to be in charge of the accounts of the absorbed Credit Union.

³⁰⁰ *The State*, IV, 26.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

to Mrs. Ghigo.³⁰⁴ On February 12, 1920, the session voted unanimously to adopt the "every member canvass" and the "goal pledge" of the Presbyterian Church.³⁰⁵

Valdese, which was hardly more than a virgin forest in 1893, was a fast-growing industrial community by 1920. Many Americans had moved to the town to work in the factories or to open places of business. On February 17, 1920, the Town of Valdese was incorporated. Francis Garrou was appointed interim mayor. The first elected mayor, John Long, a native of Pramollo in the Waldensian valleys, served until 1922. On the first town council were John and Francis Garrou. Francis Garrou, John Long, and Francis Tron, Jr., served as mayor from 1925 to 1931. The other mayors have been non-Waldensians with the exception of Albert Garrou, who acted by appointment in 1938 and 1939.

By 1921 the church had become too small to house adequately its different activities. On July 22, 1921, it was decided to begin at once with the building of an addition, joining the main structure on the east. A central heating system was installed at the same time. The annex, which was forty-five feet long and twenty-eight feet wide, was named "C. A. Tron Hall." It was dedicated on New Year's Day, in 1922, in the presence of Dr. Tron, then on his last visit to America.³⁰⁶ Dr. Tron had been retired in 1920 after holding pastorates at San Germano, Florence, and Torre Pellice. In addition to his pastoral duties Dr. Tron had been a leader in many of the activities of the Waldensian Church. He served as its delegate abroad on twenty-five occasions. He was for several years vice-moderator of the Venerable Table. For eight years he was director of *L'Écho des Vallées*. He founded many schools and other church institutions. In memory of his son he gave a new wing to the hospital of Torre Pellice. His greatest monument is the Old People's Home of San Germano, which he founded in 1894 and which he enlarged and improved on several occasions. His last years were years of suffering. He spent much of his time at the Home of San Germano, contributing his labors and interest to the work until his death on June 18, 1934.³⁰⁷

The C. A. Tron Hall was furnished with generous contributions from the young woman's sewing society which was active during this period. It gave \$255 to outfit the new building. It gave at the same time a new communion service and \$200 toward the heating system.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 74 f.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³⁰⁷ *L'Écho des Vallées*, LXX (June 22, 1934).

The young girls of the congregation showed their interest in the work by raising the money to carpet the church.³⁰⁸

During 1921 the church voted to reorganize the Sunday School on the American plan and to use the international lessons, although many of the older members deplored the fact that it was no longer feasible to use the French language.³⁰⁹ The membership of the church and Sunday School was growing steadily. For the year 1920-1921 the total church enrollment was two hundred and seventeen. Twenty-four members were added that year, and there were twelve baptisms. There were one hundred and forty members in the Sunday School. At this time the pastor was paid \$900. Other expenses and benevolences amounted to about \$450.³¹⁰

The following year there were two hundred and thirty-three church members.³¹¹ Because of the growth of the congregation it voted to increase the number of elders to six. On April 2, 1922, it decided to abolish the Waldensian system of voting members, and from that date all church members have had the right to vote.³¹²

On June 4, 1922, twenty-nine years after the foundation of the colony, it was found advisable to begin the use of the English language in the morning church services. At a congregational meeting held that day the church decided to have the morning service of the first Sunday of each month in English and the evening service in French. The morning services of the other Sundays should be in French and the evening services in English. It voted to express the gratitude of the church for the aid which it had received from the Reverend Pierre E. Monnet, who at one time had been called to the pastorate. Monnet, who spent the last years of his life in Valdese, made several generous gifts to the church and often supplied the pulpit in Pons's absence.³¹³

The following year, French, which had been the language of the colony and church records, was replaced by English. With the exception of a few entries made by temporary clerks the minutes have been entered in English since June 22, 1923.³¹⁴

Another industry was organized in 1923. John Pons, John Long, Francis Garrou, and John Garrou incorporated the Valdese Shoe Corporation on February 23, 1923. Capital stock of \$8,610 was subscribed by the four incorporators. On August 5 the church sold to the corporation a portion of the lot which had recently been returned by the

³⁰⁸ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, p. 83.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

county, and operations were begun in the frame building which had long served as the Valdese school. A fine modern factory was built by the Valdese Manufacturing Company and leased to the shoe corporation. Shoes were made in Valdese for about four years, but the venture was never successful. Several skilled Italian operatives moved from Rochester, New York, to work in the new enterprise. The newcomers added to the labors of the pastor, who organized a third preaching service for them. Pons preached on most Sundays in three languages: at morning service in French, during the late afternoon in Italian, and in the evening in English. In 1927 the name of the corporation was changed to the Albrecht Bristol Shoe Corporation, and its location to Statesville. In 1928 it became the Statesville Shoe Manufacturing Company. Operations were continued until 1934, when the company was dissolved. The factory building which had been erected for the use of the shoe company has since housed the full-fashion plant of the Waldensian Hosiery Mills. It is now known as the Pine Burr Mill.⁸¹⁵

To replace the old school building, the Board of Education of Burke County was now completing a beautiful new structure on the north side of the state highway. As early as 1917 the citizens of Valdese had seen the need of a larger and better building. They had voted a special tax of thirty cents per hundred dollars to be collected and set aside each year until a new school could be erected. The funds were raised for three years and then turned over to the county. By 1920 the population of the community had increased to such a degree that the county board of education decided that the new structure was required at once. The Valdese school committee, composed of Francis Garrou, chairman, J. M. Brinkley, and Antoine Grill, called a special election at which a bond issue of \$25,000 was approved by a good majority. The county board purchased a site, then heavily wooded, from Albert Tron. In 1921 the work began. John Garrou was put in charge of clearing the land and excavating the basement. He put a large force of men to work in the stone quarry, from which most of the stone required for the walls was secured. This was hauled to the lot at small expense. Grill was given the general supervision of the building. Under the guidance of a Hickory architect the school was built by day labor. All of the work was done by local Waldensian masons for only thirty cents an hour "because it was for the school." The carpenters also accepted a modest wage. The cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1921, in the presence of a large gathering. W. C. Ervin, of

⁸¹⁵ Secretary of State, Raleigh, N. C. No. 22959. Certificate of Incorporation, Valdese Shoe Corporation. Filed Feb. 23, 1923.

Morganton, respected friend of the Waldenses, was among the speakers. The work was finished in October, 1923, the fall term opening in the new building thirty days late. The cost of the plant was about \$75,000. This included the cost of the land and the furnishings.⁸¹⁶

Many believed that this building of twenty-two classrooms and several rooms for other purposes was too large. As the town grew, it was not long before all the rooms were occupied. In 1938 it was necessary to build a new high school, named in honor of Francis Garrou,⁸¹⁷ to provide for the children of "North Carolina's Fastest Growing Town."

From the first years of the colony to the present day the young people of Valdese have sought educational advantages in many Southern schools and colleges. The Asheville Farm and Home Schools, operated by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, served many of the colony during the early years. At least eighteen Waldensian boys attended the former school and eight girls were students in the Home School. One of the graduates of the Farm School, L. P. Guigou, later returned as its teacher and principal. Six boys attended the Dorland Bell School in Hot Springs, North Carolina. More than sixty Waldenses have been enrolled in the higher educational institutions of North Carolina and near-by states. At least fourteen have graduated from Southern colleges. Five have diplomas from Maryville College. Three have graduated from Davidson College. Five are alumni of the University of North Carolina. One attended North Carolina State College and Georgia Institute of Technology. Three have done graduate work in American and foreign universities, and one, Francis Ghigo, has received the degree of Master of Arts. The late Stephen Guigou, a graduate of Maryville College, took postgraduate work in Florence, Italy, and at the Johns Hopkins and Princeton universities. He was a teacher at Ohio State and Princeton universities. Several of the sons and daughters are candidates for degrees at the present time.

During the later years of his second pastorate Pons served as professor at Rutherford College. In 1925 he requested the church to increase his salary from \$900 to \$1,500 so that he might devote all his time to his pastoral work. The session raised the required sum, but on May 20, 1925, Pons announced that he had decided to accept a position as full-time professor at the college. He tendered his resignation as pastor "because he felt that his ministry was not blessed enough and

⁸¹⁶ Morganton *News-Herald*, XLIX.

⁸¹⁷ *The State*, IV, 27; Poet, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

because he felt that the change was necessary." After many had expressed their sorrow at losing the services of their pastor it was voted to accept his resignation to become effective after the fall meeting of Concord Presbytery.³¹⁸

A congregational meeting was called on November 22, 1925, to elect a new pastor. The Reverend J. A. Verreault, of Louisiana, was named.³¹⁹ Verreault, a native of the Province of Quebec, Canada, had been educated at the college of Levis and in the theological department of Laval University. He was at that time a member of New Orleans Presbytery and had been engaged for several years in missionary and Sunday School extension work among the French-speaking families of Louisiana.³²⁰ He accepted the call to the Valdese church and was at his new post by January 1, 1926. At that time there were 203 communicant members in the church and 191 members of the Sunday School. Current expenses amounted to about \$2,500. For benevolences about \$175 was raised. During 1927 a new wall was built behind the church and several new windows were installed, the expense being met by gifts from the Reverend P. E. Monnet and A. M. Kistler, of Morganton. The next year Monnet gave a library, which was housed in the church. During the fall of 1928 a new manse was erected at a total cost of \$4,200.³²¹

In May, 1929, Valdese was visited by the Reverend Paolo Bosio, of Rome. He was the representative of the Waldensian Church to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States which was held in Montreat, North Carolina. To celebrate his coming, a church supper was held in the club house.³²²

During Verreault's pastorate the Waldensian holidays were commemorated appropriately. In 1927 the Reverend J. G. Bruner, Pastor of Advent Moravian Church of Winston-Salem, was invited to speak at the celebration of the anniversary of the Glorious Return, which was held on August 15.³²³ In 1930 Bruner and his congregation were invited to come to Valdese to join in a similar festival. An open-air service and picnic were held in which Verreault was assisted by Pastors John Pons and Bruner.³²⁴ The following June the Valdese church sent a large delegation to Winston-Salem to repay the visit and to take part in a love feast.³²⁵

³¹⁸ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, p. 110.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³²⁰ Letter from Verreault to author, Dec. 8, 1939.

³²¹ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, pp. 114-136.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Verreault surprised the session on December 2, 1930, with the announcement of his resignation. His declining health forced him to take this step.³²⁶ The session delayed for some weeks to take action, but on January 18, 1931, it announced to Verreault that "his resignation had been accepted with regret."³²⁷

Great changes had taken place and great progress had been made in Valdese during the 1920's. Many families moved to the community to engage in business enterprises or to find work in the industries. In addition to those already mentioned, two other important plants were put in operation during this period. On March 29, 1920, the Pauline Knitting Mills was incorporated. Under Ben Pons as superintendent and A. F. Garrou as secretary and treasurer this new corporation purchased several knitting machines and started operations in a rented building, manufacturing high-grade mercerized ladies' hose. The business prospered and a new plant was built on Oak Street in East Valdese. Here ladies' silk hose were produced.³²⁸ On March 3, 1928, the corporation was dissolved. The mill was merged with the Waldensian Hosiery Mills and has since been known as the Knitting Department of the Waldensian Hosiery Mills. About twelve thousand dozen pairs of men's half hose are now manufactured weekly from cotton, silk, wool, rayon, and celanese. In 1928 another important corporation grew out of the Waldensian Hosiery Mills when the Pilot Full Fashion Mills was organized. This has grown into the largest and most important unit of the Valdese textile industry, employing about seven hundred and fifty operatives, and having a weekly capacity of approximately seven thousand dozen pairs of ladies' full-fashioned silk hose.³²⁹

For several years during this decade the Waldensian Hosiery Mills operated a small branch factory in a frame building south of Valdese, near the foot of High Peak Mountain. This plant bore the name of the Liberty Hosiery Mills and was located in this section to furnish work to the families living near by. It produced ladies' cuff-top hose, which were sold in the gray state to the parent company.³³⁰ The company was liquidated about fifteen years ago. J. G. Berry, of Valdese, purchased the machinery and continued operations until 1939.³³¹

Another adjunct to the Waldensian Hosiery Mills, the Waldensian Paper Box factory, was started during this period. It was housed in

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³²⁸ *Valdese, North Carolina*, p. 10.

³²⁹ Letter of Albert F. Garrou to author, Oct. 31, 1939.

³³⁰ *Valdese, N. C.*, p. 9.

³³¹ Letter from L. P. Guigou to author, Nov. 3, 1939.

a two-story stone building and has continued to turn out boxes in all sizes and finishes for the hosiery mills of Valdese and surrounding towns.³³²

Verreault continued to preach in the Valdese church for several months after his resignation. Many congregational meetings were held with the purpose of calling a pastor.³³³ Many younger members of the congregation were in favor of an English-speaking pastor, while the older members preferred a minister from the Waldensian valleys who could conduct at least a part of the services in French. During Verreault's pastorate the church voted to have the services of the first and third Sundays in English and the other services in French.³³⁴ On February 22, 1931, it decided to call a pastor from the valleys.³³⁵ No candidate was available, however, and, on July 5, 1931, it unanimously called the Reverend James H. Caligan, a graduate of Davidson College and of the Union Theological Seminary of Richmond, Virginia, as supply for the remainder of the year.³³⁶ Caligan began his ministry on August 1, 1931, and continued to serve as pastor until May 1, 1938.

Caligan was the first minister of the Valdese church to conduct services entirely in English. To comply with the wishes of the older members of the congregation, arrangements were made with the Reverend John Pons to hold worship in French. For about two years he preached twice monthly in French, and later once a month on the second Sunday.³³⁷ During Caligan's pastorate the various organizations of the church, including the young people's society, the choir, the Woman's Auxiliary, and the Sunday School, were reorganized. At the time of his resignation the congregation had voted to proceed with the erection of a new educational annex, for which much of the required money had already been collected.³³⁸

In 1934 Caligan married Emily Léger, a descendant of Jean Léger, Waldensian historian of the seventeenth century. Following his resignation he and Mrs. Caligan spent a year of travel and study in Europe. For six weeks they were in the Waldensian valleys. In October, 1938, he attended and addressed the Waldensian Synod at Torre Pellice as fraternal delegate of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.³³⁹

On November 24, 1937, Valdese lost its first citizen when Francis

³³² *Valdese, N. C.*, p. 5.

³³³ *Minutes of Proceedings*, No. 2, pp. 161-168.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³³⁷ Letters from the Reverend John Pons to author, Oct. 28 and 31, 1939.

³³⁸ Letter from the Reverend J. H. Caligan to author, Nov. 17, 1939.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

Garrou, Sr., died from a heart attack in Spartanburg, South Carolina. Garrou, who was born in Prali, July 17, 1877, had come to Valdese with his family in November, 1893. Soon after reaching Burke County he found employment in a cotton mill in Morganton, where he received twelve cents a day. He later worked in the hosiery mill of Meier in Valdese, and in mills in Newton and Manning, South Carolina. As has been seen above, he returned to Valdese in 1901 and founded with his brother John the Waldensian Hosiery Mill.⁸⁴⁰ He was the directing head of that and other textile plants in Valdese until his death. He was secretary-treasurer and executive head of the Valdese Manufacturing Company, an officer in the Pilot Full Fashion Hosiery Mill, and a director of the First National Bank of Morganton, the Valdese Building and Loan Association, and the Valdese Credit Union.⁸⁴¹

He was appointed by the state legislature in 1920 as first mayor of Valdese. He served again from 1925 to 1927. In 1932 he was elected by a large majority to represent Burke County in the North Carolina General Assembly, becoming one of the prominent members of that body. He was asked to run again, but preferred to devote all his time to his business interests.⁸⁴² He made valiant efforts in the legislature to secure the right for school districts not in debt to levy taxes as a supplement to the funds allowed under state operation. His fight was unsuccessful.⁸⁴³ For many years he was chairman of the Valdese school board, and under his direction the new school was built.

In speaking of the changed conditions in Valdese, Garrou asserted: "We are no longer a Waldensian colony. When we came to this country we were all good Waldensians. We were members of the Presbyterian Church and voted the Democratic ticket. Now many of our workers are native Americans. We have married into native families until our identity is almost lost, and we have become so fully American that some of us even go to the Baptist Church and vote the Republican ticket."⁸⁴⁴

In 1938 the Waldensian Hosiery Mills and its affiliates built the Francis Garrou Memorial Hall, which is used as the community center. Garrou's nephew, Mr. Albert F. Garrou, was the principal mover in securing this notable gift to the town of Valdese. It is a large building with a floor suitable for basketball and other sports. In the basement there are bowling alleys, swimming pool, shuffleboard courts,

⁸⁴⁰ See p. 134, above.

⁸⁴¹ Morganton *News-Herald*, Nov. 26, 1937.

⁸⁴² *The State*, Feb. 27, 1937, p. 25.

⁸⁴³ Morganton *News-Herald*, XLIX.

⁸⁴⁴ Greensboro *News*; reprinted in Morganton *News-Herald*, Nov. 17, 1933.

pool and billiard tables, ping-pong tables, and other athletic equipment. It is one of the finest buildings of its kind in North Carolina.

By resolution of Concord Presbytery the Reverend Jean Pons was appointed interim pastor to serve the Valdese church until the coming of a new pastor. During the summer of 1938 the Reverend Sylvan S. Poet, of Chicago, visited the community and preached in the church. The church voted to extend him a call, which he accepted. He arrived in Valdese early in February, 1939, preaching his first sermon as pastor on February 5. Mr. Poet is a native of Torre Pellice. He graduated from the college and normal school of that city. He served for eighteen months in the mountain artillery of the Italian Army. Immediately after his term of military service he went to Mosul, Iraq, as secretary of the Italian Consulate, later acting as vice-consul until he decided to enter the Christian ministry. He came to the United States and entered the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church of America in New Brunswick, New Jersey. After receiving his Bachelor's degree from this institution he went to Princeton University, which granted him the Master's degree. He served for a time as pastor in charge of the Italian work of the New Utrecht Reformed Church in Brooklyn, New York, whence he was called to Chicago as director of Samaritan Neighborhood House and pastor of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church.³⁴⁵

During the first year of Mr. Poet's pastorate the new educational annex was built. Work was begun during the summer of 1939, and on February 17, 1940, the building, containing several classrooms on the ground floor, and a large assembly and banquet hall and kitchen on the second floor, was dedicated by the moderator of Concord Presbytery, the Reverend Neil McGeachy. It was named Pioneers' Hall in memory of the colonists who settled Valdese in 1893. About two hundred and fifty persons attended the banquet. The Reverend Joseph Brunn, of New York, delivered the principal address, describing his part in the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Glorious Return, and in the Waldensian Synod of September, 1939. The superintendent of the Sunday School, Mr. John D. Guigou, gave the history of the new structure, and stated that the cost was about \$22,000.³⁴⁶

During the last decade the community has continued to advance. Many new business establishments have opened their doors and new industries have been organized. Of the stores which have recently

³⁴⁵ *Charlotte Observer*, Feb. 4, 1939.

³⁴⁶ *L'Eco delle Valli Valdesi*, LXXVI (March 15, 1940).

opened in Valdese the following may be named: the Valdese Food Shop, Benlee's, the B. and B. Market, the City Market, and Belk-Broome. In 1938 the *Valdese News* began publication and has a subscription list of over two thousand at the present time. In 1939 the Northwestern Bank established a branch in Valdese on the lot first used as a cemetery. The same year the Valdese General Hospital was organized by Drs. Palmer, Lynn, Foard, and Billings, using some of the buildings of old Rutherford College, about three miles northeast of Valdese. In 1931 the Colonial Theatre was installed in a modern building.

In 1935 another unit of the Waldensian Hosiery Mills, known as the Blackstone Hosiery Mill, was organized. It is located in the eastern part of the town, near the Pauline Knitting Mills. In 1937 it employed approximately eighty persons with a weekly payroll of \$1,700.³⁴⁷ In 1939 it had about one hundred and twenty-five employees, a capitalization of \$33,765, and a weekly capacity of about five thousand dozen pairs of men's half hose.³⁴⁸ The Waldensian Hosiery Mills now owns a half interest in the concern, the other half being owned by New York capitalists.

Among the more important textile factories which have recently been started in Valdese are the John Massey Company, the Dolly Hosiery Mill, and the Frances Louise Full Fashion Mill. The John Massey Company, organized in 1937, located in the southwestern part of Valdese, manufactures children's hose. About half its capital is Waldensian. The Dolly Hosiery Mill has recently begun operations in a leased building in the center of town. Infants' hosiery is produced. There is some Waldensian capital in this undertaking. The Frances Louise Full Fashion Mill, a modern brick building, now two years old, is located on the highway in the west part of the town; it is a stock company with considerable Waldensian capital, under the management of Francis Garrou, Jr. It manufactures ladies' full-fashioned silk hose.

The Wright Machine Shop, located on the highway west of Valdese, for several years built and repaired cordage machinery and other cotton mill machinery. It ceased operations in 1940. It had a modern plant and served the industries of Valdese and other textile centers.

In May, 1932, the city water system was completed. In the fall of the following year an up-to-date sewage disposal plant was installed. The business section of Valdese was improved with an extensive pav-

³⁴⁷ *The State*, Feb. 27, 1937, p. 26.

³⁴⁸ Letter from Albert F. Garrou to author.

ing program completed during the winter of 1936-1937. In the spring of 1939, as a Works Progress Administration project, the principal streets between the Southern Railway tracks and the main highway were paved.

The town is still growing rapidly. In 1937 it was claimed that there was a yearly increase of about 40 per cent in building permits. Many modern homes were being erected during the spring of 1940. The beautiful painted brick residence of Albert F. Garrou is situated in the woods to the north of town. It is equipped with the most modern devices, and is evidence of the good taste, industry, and business acumen of its builder.

Among the organizations of Valdese are the Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1930, the Masonic Lodge and Eastern Star in 1932, the Lion's Club in 1936, and the Pilot Club in 1939.⁸⁴⁹

As has been seen above, the Waldenses of Valdese began as early as 1894 to show their appreciation of their adopted country by becoming naturalized.⁸⁵⁰ As the years have passed, more and more of the sons and daughters of Italy have become American citizens. They express "undying gratitude" to their representative, the Honorable A. L. Bulwinkle, and the Federal Government for the special law, introduced by Mr. Bulwinkle, which authorizes the Burke County Superior Court to conduct hearings for the granting of final naturalization papers in Morganton. This is "the only superior court in North Carolina authorized to perform a duty elsewhere reserved for Federal courts."⁸⁵¹ The Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration has sent to serve as examiner at the hearings "the most regretted Mr. Jesse Thomas" and Mrs. Clare T. Williston, who are, in the minds of the Waldenses, "the two kindest persons they had."⁸⁵² On March 11, 1940, five citizens of Valdese were given final papers.⁸⁵³ As naturalized Americans several of Waldensian origin have held positions of trust in the governments of the community, county, and state. In addition to those mentioned previously is Mr. B. H. Pons, prominent hosiery mill executive, who was elected in 1938 to the Burke County Board of Commissioners.⁸⁵⁴ Lee Ribet is the present town manager.

Thus they are rapidly becoming wholly Americanized. They are unanimous in their appreciation of the advantages which have been granted them as American citizens and of the hospitality with which they were received. In the words of one who came to America in

⁸⁴⁹ Poet, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁸⁵⁰ See p. 105, above.

⁸⁵¹ *Charlotte Observer*, March 13, 1940.

⁸⁵² Letter from Mr. Antoine Grill to author, Sept. 3, 1940.

⁸⁵³ *Charlotte Observer*, March 13, 1940.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1940.

1893: "We Waldensians were and are very grateful. We appreciate so very much our beloved country, the United States, in spite of our attachment to our native valleys. We were received as a privileged people, not only by those in our station of life, but maybe more so yet by the educated and wealthy. It has always been a wonder to me how the natives could put up with our shortcomings with a laugh."

According to the census of 1940, Valdese now has a population of 2,615. Of these, there are about 160 within the city limits who bear Waldensian names. This includes American-born wives, but excludes Waldensian girls who have married American men. There are about 105 such who live outside the limits of Valdese.⁸⁵⁵

On June 20, 1941, a committee, consisting of Lee Ribet, chairman, the Reverend John Pons, secretary, and Antoine Grill, treasurer, was named to provide for the erection of a suitable memorial in honor of the pioneers who settled Valdese in 1893. The cost (approximately \$5,000) of this monument, to be located on the property of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church, facing Highway 70, will be shared by Burke County, the Town of Valdese, and the citizens and friends of Valdese. The names of the heads of the colonizing families will be inscribed in a niche of the proposed memorial of granite or marble, which will be dedicated in 1943, on the occasion of the first semi-centennial of the colony.

The traveler who passes through Valdese notices at first sight little to distinguish it from other prosperous industrial cities of North Carolina. He may read the marker erected by the State Historical Commission which tells of the founding of Valdese by Waldenses from the Cottian Alps in 1893. He will see the word "Waldensian" on several business establishments. He will find the architecture of the church and the school unusual. He may wonder at the many vineyards along the highway. And if he visits the homes of the original settlers and their sons he will realize that they must have been built by other than native North Carolinians. If he chances to visit Valdese on Sunday afternoon he should watch the citizens playing the well-known Italian game *boccie* on the "fields" behind the Waldensian Clubhouse, built in 1910 and later purchased by Le Phare des Alpes, a mutual assistance society.

If he enters the stores of the city he will hear only English. In the Waldensian Bakery and on the streets he may see black-haired men and women who show clear evidence of being of Italian stock. On the second Sunday of each month he may see the Waldensian cos-

⁸⁵⁵ Letter from Mr. A. Grill to author, Sept. 14, 1940.

tumes worn by the older women. On that day the service at the Waldensian Presbyterian Church is conducted in French. Except for a repetition of the notices no English is used. The French choir, made up of several of those who came in 1893 and others of the second generation, assists at this worship. At the church entrance several tongues may be heard, for the older members who speak English, French, and Italian, use in their ordinary conversations the patois or dialects which they brought from the Waldensian valleys. These dialects have been described in a work by the son of Pastor Ghigo, Professor Francis Ghigo of Hampden-Sydney College.³⁵⁶

From 1893, when the newcomers were called "just the kind of people that North Carolina wants," to the present day the Waldenses of Valdeese have been highly respected by the people of the state. By their integrity, thrift, and industry they have made a notable contribution to the progress of the state. North Carolinians will endorse the statement of an eminent educator and divine who writes: "The history of the Waldensian Church, covering a period of nearly a thousand years, makes an inspiring story. The history of the Waldensians of Valdeese, covering a period of forty-seven years, is equally inspiring. The Waldensians of Valdeese have lived up to the highest traditions and ideals of their people. They have been able to do it because they sought first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness."³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ See Francis Ghigo, *The Provençal Speech of the Waldensian Colonists in North Carolina*.

³⁵⁷ The Reverend Walter L. Lingle, "Valdeese," *Christian Observer*, Louisville, Ky., CXXVIII (May 15, 1940), 3-4.

CHAPTER X

WALDENSES IN NEW YORK CITY

As we have noted, Waldensian history in New York began with the arrival of the *Prince Maurice*, the *Bear*, and the *Flower of Guelder* in March, 1657, and the alleged settlement of Waldenses on Staten Island.¹ Little is known of Waldensian activity in New York during the eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth centuries, yet it is altogether possible that the descendants of the first comers continued to live in and round New York, and that they made their contributions to the development of the metropolis. As we shall see in a later chapter, considerable interest in the Waldenses was manifested by citizens of New York during the nineteenth century. Substantial sums of money were given by influential New Yorkers for the work of the Waldensian Church.² At the beginning of the present century the New York Waldensian Society, parent of the present American Waldensian Aid Society, was organized in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church.³

During the later nineteenth century many of the Waldensian colonists who came to America passed through New York City. Some worshiped temporarily with the congregation of the French Evangelical Church. Many settlers of Valdeese, not being able to earn sufficient money in the new colony, went to New York in search of work, some returning later to North Carolina and others settling permanently in the city. From the Waldensian valleys and from France had come other Waldenses with the purpose of locating in New York City, so that by 1910 a large number was living in the region. Most of the immigrants found work in restaurants and hotels or in private homes as governesses or domestic servants. Of these, some had united with the French Evangelical Church.

At this time three pastors of Waldensian origin were present in the neighborhood: the Reverend John Pons in Brooklyn, the Reverend Filippo Ghigo, instructor in the Italian Department of the Bloomfield, New Jersey, Seminary, and the Reverend Alberto Clot, delegate of the Waldensian Church to the Protestant churches of the United States and Canada.

¹ See p. 11, above.

² See pp. 185 ff., below.

³ See p. 200, below.

Early in 1910 Mr. Clot began to assemble the Waldenses in New York and vicinity, holding several meetings with the assistance of the other two pastors, during the spring and summer of that year. A church was organized on March 16. There was, however, no church council or system of contributions.

In October there came from Italy another Waldensian pastor, the Reverend Pietro Griglio, of Prali, who had been trained in the Waldensian college of Torre Pellice, the Waldensian Theological Seminary in Florence, and the Free Church College of Edinburgh, Scotland.⁴ He was ordained by the Waldensian Church on September 7, 1903. He had come to New York to teach in the Italian Department of the Bible Teachers' Training School, conducted by Dr. Wilbert White, and, through an arrangement with Mr. Clot, to assume the leadership of the work among the Waldenses of the metropolis.

The Waldenses were then holding their meetings in the Church of the Strangers at Eighth Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street. Introduced to the congregation by Mr. Clot, Mr. Griglio preached for the first time on October 9, 1910. The group was known as the Waldensian Union. Services were held on Sunday afternoons. A Sunday School and class for students of the catechism were started. The beginnings were modest, there being only six or seven children in the Sunday School, and two in the class for catechumens. In March, 1911, the Waldenses were organized on a more substantial basis, with a church council and a regular system of contributions.

Before long the facilities of the Church of the Strangers, which had been furnished free of charge, were found insufficient for the needs of the congregation. The meetings were transferred to the Holy Communion Church (Protestant Episcopal) at Sixth Avenue and Twentieth Street. Here the Waldenses worshiped in the upper hall of the parish house, where they were accommodated without charge.

They were cordially received by the members of the Holy Communion Church and they increased steadily in numbers, so that by May, 1913, one hundred and thirty-five members had paid the expenses of worship, amounting to about \$50 a month, had contributed \$90 to missions, and had laid aside for future needs, without any outside help, \$1,150. They outgrew the upper room and began to worship in the cathedral on Sunday afternoons. Shortly they were invited by their hosts to give up their independent organization and to unite with the Episcopal Church. The Waldenses, while appreciating this invitation, felt that their church system and form of wor-

⁴ This and most of the following data were supplied by Pastor Pietro Griglio.

ship were so different from those of the Episcopal Church that they could not make the change. Accordingly, their pastor began looking for a new affiliation.

Mr. Griglio, who had been received into New York Presbytery on October 4, 1915, presented the matter to the Presbytery, requesting the use of some building suitable for housing the activities of his flock. The Presbytery appointed a committee to study the matter, one of whom was Mr. Norman Thomas. The committee reported that there was no building available, but that several Presbyterian churches were ready to receive them, among others the Chelsea Church. Mr. Griglio visited this church and found that it could not satisfy his congregation's needs. One day in 1916 Mr. Griglio was walking along Forty-first Street and saw the Knox Memorial Dutch Reformed Church. Finding the door open, he entered and observed that there was sufficient room for two groups. He called on the pastor, the Reverend Dr. Edward Meury, and explained the requirements of his people.

Dr. Meury was sympathetic and presented the matter to his congregation, which promptly invited the Waldenses to transfer their worship to this church. On Sunday afternoon, March 19, 1916, Mr. Griglio and his flock of over one hundred families held divine service for the first time in their new home. They were happy at Knox Memorial and were invited to unite with the Dutch Reformed Church. This they decided to do, and on March 12, 1917, New York Presbytery dismissed the pastor to the classis of the Dutch Reformed Church. This affiliation was continued until after the resignation of Mr. Griglio. On May 2, 1920, he preached his farewell sermon to his congregation before leaving to accept a call from the New York City Mission to serve the Italian-American Charlton Street Memorial Church.

He was succeeded by the Reverend Bartholomew Tron, former pastor of the First Italian Presbyterian Church of Chicago. Tron, who came to America from Massello in the Waldensian valleys, had attended the Waldensian Theological Seminary and had continued his studies at the Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh. He had been ordained by Pittsburgh Presbytery and had done missionary work in the mining districts of Pennsylvania before going to Chicago. In 1920 he served as temporary assistant at the French Church du Saint Esprit,⁵ having resigned his post in Chicago to serve in Europe during the First World War.

Under the leadership of Tron the Waldenses did not remain long

⁵ Letter of Elder Émile Schoutith of the Waldensian Church of New York.

at the Knox Memorial Church. According to the 1920-1921 annual report of the congregation, it would seem that some members were dissatisfied with their union with the Dutch Reformed Church and thought that they would lose their "dear independence" and their "beautiful name of Waldenses; a name glorified by our ancestors, and independence obtained at the price of their blood."⁶ The session, at an undated meeting, deplored "the union of the Waldensian Church with the Reformed Church" and asked the pastor "not to ally himself officially, since the will of the congregation is to remain free and Waldensian."⁷

In May, 1921, the question of continued union with the Reformed Church was settled by secret balloting held on the first, eighth, and fifteenth. "Of about seventy-five persons who voted, only two manifested the desire to remain united with the Reformed Church."⁸ Thereupon the session charged the pastor to find another place of worship. The French Evangelical Church offered the use of its facilities, but on July 16, 1921, the session instructed Tron to continue negotiations with Dr. Alexander of the First Presbyterian Church. On August 6 the session learned that Dr. Alexander had offered the use of that church to the Waldenses, and voted to transfer the congregation to the chapel. Services were to begin in the new location on September 11, 1921. The pastor was requested to "send a letter to the Classis of the Reformed Church to ask for the separation of the Waldensian congregation and the Reformed Church."⁹

Surprisingly enough, the Waldenses quickly gave up their affiliation with the Dutch Reformed Church. In spite of the above-quoted entries in the church records one may infer that the change was due largely to the initiative of Pastor Tron, who was an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church.

For a few years the Waldenses continued to worship in the chapel of the First Presbyterian Church as an independent body. On November 10, 1924, Tron appeared before the council of New York Presbytery and made application for admission of the "American Waldensian Church" to the membership of the Presbytery. At that time Tron reported about two hundred members and a parish of nearly one thousand.¹⁰ The council appointed a committee to investigate the request and on January 12, 1925, recommended that the Waldensian Church be received and enrolled as one of the churches of the Presbytery.¹¹ This recommendation was adopted by the Presbytery.

⁶ *Rapport Annuel, Année 1920-1921. Congrégation Vaudoise* (New York), p. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Minutes of New York Presbytery*, Nov. 10, 1924.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1925.

In the fall of 1925 a few members of Tron's church seem to have lost confidence in their leader. According to a present elder of the Waldensian Church of New York, "a misunderstanding arose between Mr. Tron and about five members of the Waldensian Church, regarding money matters. These five members left the church."¹² As time went on, more and more members stopped attending services and contributing to the church work. Some turned to the French Evangelical Church, and others, a larger number, returned after some time to the Knox Memorial Church.

In this church the Waldenses secured the services of temporary leaders in the persons of the Reverend Paolo Buffa, a Waldensian by birth and then pastor of a Baptist church in the Bronx, and Mr. August Hugon, a student at the Bloomfield Theological Seminary. The latter was a Waldensian who had served in the Swedish mission of Asmara, Eritrea, before coming to the United States. Mr. Buffa took charge of the preaching and the pastoral calls, and Mr. Hugon served as president of the church council and director of the Sunday School.

In 1926 the session wrote to their former pastor, Mr. Griglio, who was then directing the work among the Italians of the Presbyterian Church of the Covenant in Cleveland, Ohio, asking him to return to New York as their pastor. Before accepting the call Mr. Griglio communicated with the Moderator of the Waldensian Church of Italy, B. Léger. Mr. Léger replied that the Venerable Table was distressed over the situation in New York and pleased to learn that Mr. Griglio was thinking of returning to his former charge. He was assured of the moral support of the Table.¹³ Mr. Griglio paid a visit to the Waldenses of Knox Memorial, and, greatly encouraged by his reception, decided to accept the charge. He preached his first sermon on October 3, 1926.

The official organ of the Waldensian Church, *L'Écho des Vallées*, refers frequently to the situation. From these articles one infers that the authorities in Italy, while deeply regretting the schism, were more sympathetic toward the new group than toward Tron's. On August 27, 1926, *L'Écho* asserted: "Whatever Mr. B. Tron may say or think, there are always two Waldensian congregations in New York. . . . We continue to hope that the stronger of the two will absorb little by little the less numerous; that there will soon be 'only one Waldensian Church' in New York 'and one sole pastor' and that the bonds

¹² Letter of Elder Émile Schoutith to author, April, 1940.

¹³ Letters of Moderator B. Léger to Pastor Griglio, Aug. 26 and Oct. 23, 1926.

of Christian brotherhood, loosened for a moment, will be joined again indissolubly."¹⁴

For several years Pastor Griglio's church continued its existence as an independent organization, holding its services in the Knox Memorial Church. The latter church allowed the use of its equipment for the nominal sum of twenty dollars a month and janitor's expenses. Gradually other Waldenses joined the body, some coming from Mr. Tron's congregation, others from Italy.

In January, 1928, the church was incorporated under the laws of the state of New York. A widespread desire was then current among the Waldenses to be affiliated with a larger organization, and after their earlier experiences it seemed to them that the best way was to unite officially with the Mother Church. Therefore, a formal request to that effect was sent to the Venerable Table. Although he approved the desire of the Waldenses of no longer remaining isolated, Moderator B. Léger suggested postponement of the question. His successor, V. Alberto Costabel, declared himself altogether unfavorable to such a request, considering it injurious to the best interests of the Church as a whole. No action was taken for several years, but finally the negotiations were favorably concluded for the petitioners. In 1932 word was sent to the Waldensian Church of Italy that unless the New York congregation was received it would cease its regular contributions. At a meeting of the Waldensian Synod, held in Torre Pellice in September, the autonomy of the First Waldensian Church of New York was recognized amid "general rejoicings."¹⁵ The church was enrolled with the other Waldensian churches in Italy and South America, and Mr. Griglio was reinstated as pastor on active service in the Waldensian Evangelical Church.¹⁶

In 1928 the church took an important step, buying a church house at 26 West 88th Street, for which it paid, including some improvements, \$24,000. To raise funds for this building sixty people, chiefly members of the First Waldensian Church of New York, pledged \$7,085. This group of contributors served as a promoting committee and sent out an appeal, in French and English pamphlets, to all the Waldenses in the United States whose addresses it had.¹⁷ In April,

¹⁴ For details of the two congregations see *L'Écho des Vallées*, Jan. 8, Feb. 5, Aug. 6, Dec. 3, 1926.

¹⁵ Letter of Pastor Griglio to author, Jan. 24, 1940.

¹⁶ *Rapporti al Venerabile Sinodo. Chiesa Evangelica Valdese* (Torre Pellice, 1933), p. 85.

¹⁷ *The Waldensian Colony of New York and Vicinity* (n. d.), p. 2.

1928, the committee was able to announce subscriptions of \$12,085.¹⁸ In April, 1931, it reported subscriptions amounting to \$16,042.57 and paid-up capital of \$14,197.37.¹⁹

A plan to remodel the Waldensian House and to use it for a church and Waldensian center so far has not been carried out. The building is rented, and the debt upon it has been reduced to less than \$4,000.²⁰ The accounts of this house, which is managed by a committee made up of the church council, a treasurer, and an administrator, are kept separate from those of the church.

Since its beginnings in 1910 the Waldensian Church of New York has contributed regularly to the work of the Italian Church. It has supported the "Lien des Vaudois," started by Mr. Griglio in 1924, with the purpose of collecting the minimum annual contribution of one dollar from each Waldensian family in America to help in the work of the Mother Church.

The membership of the First Waldensian Church of New York has increased from about 200 to 245 since its affiliation with the Mother Church. On account of the restriction of immigration, no, or very few, Waldenses have come to the United States during the last several years.

The average attendance at the main service, which is held regularly on Sunday afternoon, is quite encouraging. The men are not numerous at this service, since they cannot leave their work in the hotels and restaurants where most of them are employed. The younger generation is well represented, in spite of the fact that French is still used, except on the first Sunday of the month when the service is conducted in Italian. A serious obstacle to a larger attendance is the extent of the area of the parish. It is not uncommon to have in a comparatively small audience members from New Jersey, New Rochelle, Queen's Village, Staten Island, and New York City. Notwithstanding these handicaps there is, on several occasions in the year, an imposing attendance.

In January, 1940, nineteen students were enrolled in the French classes and nine in the class of religious instruction. There are forty-four children in three groups in the Sunday School, which is conducted in the French tongue.

For the year 1939 the congregation contributed \$3,631.87 for the

¹⁸ *Un Appel aux Vaudois des États-Unis pour une Maison Vaudoise à New York* (1928), p. 12.

¹⁹ *Contributions, Avril 1928-Avril 1931, en faveur du projet Maison des Vaudois à New York* (1931), p. 8.

²⁰ *Rapport Financier, Église Évangélique Vaudoise de New York* (1939), p. 7.

work of the church. Of this sum, \$312.50 was collected for the Waldensian Church of Italy. The expenses for the year amounted to \$3,410.62. There was a balance on hand of \$4,416.90.²¹

The church has been represented frequently at the Waldensian Synod. A yearly celebration is held on February 17, the date on which the Waldenses were accorded religious and civil freedom. The pastor makes frequent visits to other Waldenses, including an annual trip to Philadelphia, where he conducts a Waldensian celebration in the home of some member of the considerable Waldensian group of that city.

At the time of the schism of 1926 the editor of *L'Écho des Vallées*, doubtless representing the sentiments of the Venerable Table, expressed, as has been seen above, the hope that there would shortly be but one Waldensian congregation in New York City. This hope has been only partially fulfilled. Tron remained pastor of the congregation worshipping in the First Presbyterian Church until his death, after an appendectomy, on June 21, 1938. He was succeeded by the Reverend Henri F. Blanchot, a native of France. He had been ordained in the Reformed Church and, on coming to America, was admitted to New York Presbytery. At the present time the church has less than one hundred members. According to the church roll, twenty-seven Waldensian families, eleven French, and one Swiss make up the congregation. The doors of the church are "open to all French-speaking Christians."²² On April 7, 1940, the church celebrated its thirtieth anniversary with a special sermon by the pastor, a historical address by Elder Émile Schoutith, and words of greeting from the Reverend Maitland Bartlett, stated clerk of New York Presbytery. According to the official stationery of the church, it is now styled the Église Vaudoise de New York. Although the majority of the members are of Waldensian extraction, the principal Waldensian work in New York City is centered in The First Waldensian Church of New York, the church which is officially a part of the Waldensian Church of Italy.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²² Letter of Elder Schoutith to author, Feb., 1940.

CHAPTER XI

INDIVIDUALS AND SMALLER GROUPS

In addition to these Waldenses who have settled in colonies, many Waldensian families have scattered in North America, some living in the cities, and others on farms in many states and in Canada.

As early as 1741 a Waldensian adventurer in South Carolina, Jean Pierre Brez, who was born in Villar in 1705, was naturalized a citizen. A few years later he was in Georgia in the service of a prince of Württemberg, who is said to have sent him on a mission to the King of England. Brez never returned to America, but spent the rest of his life in his native village, where he was known as "the American."¹

Another Waldensian who played an interesting role in America during the nineteenth century was Hippolyte Henri Gay, a native of Rodoretto. He led a stirring life as a youth, being one of the first volunteers to follow Garibaldi in 1867. After the dispersion of the expedition marching on Rome, Gay left his regiment and fled to England, where he served as teacher and agent for Garibaldi. During the Franco-Prussian War he was arrested in Paris as a German spy and condemned to death. He was recognized and rescued by followers of Garibaldi who had been invited to be present at his execution. A few years later he read in a London newspaper of a vacant position in a Canadian college. He won the post over forty-two candidates. While occupying this position he traveled widely in the Americas. When General Gonzales was named President of the Republic of Mexico, Gay was commissioned a general and charged with the exploration of the Mexican frontiers. When Gonzales fell, Gay and his wife settled in Chicago, where the latter died. He entered a competitive examination for research work in the mines of Panama and was placed in charge of the construction of the first thirty miles of the Panama Canal. While thus engaged Gay contracted yellow fever and died three days later, in 1896, at the age of forty-four years. He left a son, Matthieu Gay, in the United States.²

The great benefactor of the Waldenses, General John Charles Beckwith, was a native of North America. He was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on October 2, 1789. While a major in the British Army he

¹ Jalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 184 ff.

lost a leg through a cannon shot at the Battle of Waterloo. During his enforced inactivity he chanced to read Gilly's *Narrative of an Excursion to the Valleys of Piedmont*,³ and became intensely interested in the Waldenses. In the autumn of 1827 he visited the valleys, remaining for a few days in Torre Pellice. For several years he returned to Italy, where he stayed from October to May. During these visits Beckwith studied the needs of the struggling Waldensian Church. In 1841 he went to the valleys and took up his lifework in earnest. His first aim was to improve the parish schools. Teachers were sent for training to Lausanne. At his own expense he built schools for girls. He assisted in the founding of the Latin School of San Martino and the college of Torre Pellice. His next work was to provide better churches and manses. In 1848 he was promoted General. He remained in Italy, actively engaged in helping in the work of the people until his death in Torre Pellice on July 19, 1862.⁴

Before going to the Waldensian valleys General Beckwith returned to North America and spent several years "visiting one after another the various states of the new-born republic, carefully studying its institutions and resources." On his visit to the Indian country the customs and ideas of the Indians "offered to his investigative mind an abundant subject of most interesting studies."⁵ During this time he lived several months in Baltimore.⁶ The General had another bond with the United States: in 1854 the students of Williams College made him and his wife life members of the American and Foreign Christian Union and him a life director of the society.⁷

In addition to the persecuted Waldenses who fled to Protestant countries and later came to America in small groups during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries several came alone or with other Waldensian or Huguenot refugees. The Reverend A. Stapleton in *Memorials of the Huguenots in America* writes that many fled to Pennsylvania. He gives the following names of Piedmontese martyrs, observing that "the reader will find all these Piedmontese names represented in our immigrant list to Pennsylvania": Armand, Perrine, Durant, Nevel, Renaud, Birone, De Bisson, Rambaut, Utre, Garnier, Pierre, Pont, Clement, and Benech.⁸

³ London, 1825.

⁴ E. J. Richardson, *Sketch of Life of General Beckwith, a Brave and Wounded Soldier* (Edinburgh: Tract and Colportage Society's Depository, 1926).

⁵ J. P. Meille, *Il Generale Beckwith, sua Vita e sue Opere in mezzo ai Valdesi del Piemonte* (Florence: Tipografia Claudiana, 1879), p. 16.

⁶ See p. 172, below.

⁷ See p. 191, below.

⁸ Carlisle, Pa.: Huguenot Publishing Company, 1901, p. 38.

A lack of contemporary records makes it impossible to know how many Waldenses did find their way to America during these days, or where they settled. Stapleton believes that in the counties of Pennsylvania which now make up the state of Delaware there "were a large number of French and Waldensian refugees who mostly came between 1654 and 1663."⁹ Their names have been lost or have undergone changes, and it is probable that many exiles were classed as Dutch or Swedes in the early records.

The Quigley family of Pennsylvania affords an example of these immigrants and of this confusing change of name. In the town of McElhattan, Clinton County, near the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, a tablet in memory of Michael Quaglia, is inscribed as follows: "At this spot by the never failing well October 27, 1768, Michael Quigley (Quaglia), descendant of the Waldensian martyrs in the Piedmontese Alps of Europe, spent his first night at what afterwards became his permanent home and where his compatriots and descendants have striven to uphold his sturdy faith for the past one hundred sixty years. Lux lucet in Tenebris."

Of this family a descendant, Colonel Henry W. Shoemaker, Archivist of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, writes: "According to the tradition in my mother's family, although the name had been gradually changed into Quigley, they originated in Piedmont, where at various times the name was spelt Quiglia and Quaglia. The family was persecuted, and escaped into Switzerland and went with William of Orange to the North of Ireland, eventually reaching Pennsylvania, some of them arriving in 1722 and others as late as 1736. Michael Quigley, who seemed to be the most conspicuous member of the family, removed to the Indian Country in central Pennsylvania about 1762, where his descendants still reside."¹⁰

Other members of the Quigley or Quiggle line do not believe with Colonel Shoemaker that Michael Quigley was of Waldensian origin, but hold that he came directly from Tyrone, Ireland. Others believe that the name was originally Quickel and was of Pennsylvania Dutch origin.¹¹ The local records of this section are incomplete, many having

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁰ Letter from Colonel Henry W. Shoemaker to author, July 1, 1940. In a pamphlet "Unrecorded Facts Concerning Stiegel" (1929) Colonel Shoemaker, who has looked up the family records abroad and has seen a diary of the original Michael Quigley, which refers to a Swiss origin, says that Michael was born in Switzerland of Waldensian parents, "who were waiting to make a dash back to Italy to regain their lost estates among Alpine ice and rocks. The name had been Quaglia in Piedmont, Quigel among the Pennsylvania Dutch, and Quigley among the Ulster Scots on the far frontier."

¹¹ This information was furnished by Miss Edna Rich, a member of the Quiggle

been lost in the floods which have often ravaged the valley of the Susquehanna.

The *History of Clinton County*, published in 1875, contains several references to the Quiggles, "who came from Lancaster in 1788." (Colonel Shoemaker asserts that this date refers only to the purchase of a particular farm.) Nothing is said in this work of a Waldensian connection. Mention is made of J. W. Quiggle, a grandfather of Colonel Shoemaker, who was consul-general at Antwerp in 1859. It was he, according to his grandson, who took the name "Quiggle." When he went to Lock Haven to practice law, the other lawyers are said to have started a whispering campaign that he was an Irish Catholic. Hence he gradually changed his name from Quigley to Quiggle.¹²

For many years during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the present century Teofilo Ernesto Comba, son of a Waldensian pastor and brother of Professor Emilio Comba, the noted Waldensian historian, lived and labored in the United States. He came to this country as a boy of eighteen, crossing the Alps in 1869 and sailing from a French port. During his first year in America he worked with one of his brothers in the quarries of Dorset, Vermont. Having an extraordinary gift for languages, he began teaching French in a seminary in the fall of 1872. For many years he taught French in Sigler's School for Teachers in Newburgh, New York, and later in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. He then entered the publishing business in New York City and became resident manager of the American branch of the English house of John Lane Company. Later he was the American representative of Hanson, Truslove, and Comba, an English publishing firm which printed many educational books in the Romance languages, such as Portuguese-English and Spanish-English dictionaries and grammars. He was the translator of his brother's works, *History of the Waldenses of Italy, from Their Origin to the Reformation* and *Waldo and the Waldensians before the Reformation*. Comba served also as representative in America of the Theosophical Society of India. During the First World War he had charge of the instruction in French at Camp Meade. He was gifted musically, at one time conducting a large choir and orchestra. He taught modern languages in the summer session of Amherst College for many years and was lecturer on Italian literature in the Library School of New York City. He died in April, 1921, in Dorset, Vermont. A large col-

family, through Miss M. E. Croker, librarian of the Annie Halenbake Ross Library, Lock Haven, Pa.

¹² Letter from Colonel Shoemaker to author, Aug. 30, 1940.

lection of his books, mostly on European literature, has been donated to the library of Dorset. His nephew, Guido Comba, is the present treasurer of the Venerable Table of the Waldensian Church.¹³

During the last decades of the nineteenth century many Waldenses emigrated to America in search of better living conditions. Among the most important groups to come was that of Chicago. The first to settle there were from the two highest parishes in the Waldensian valleys, Prali and Rodoretto. They came in the 1890's and 1900's, following a Waldensian pastor from Prali, the Reverend Filippo Grilli, who became pastor of the Italian Presbyterian Church of Chicago. The first to join him was Jacques Martinat from Prali, who later returned to Italy. In 1902 came François Peyret, Jean Étienne Rostan, and François Martinat, all from Prali. Martinat returned to the Waldensian valleys and Rostan removed to Spring Valley, Illinois, where he died. In 1903 Henri Grill and François Garrou came from Prali. Garrou went back to Italy some years later. In 1906 several families arrived from Italy. From Rodoretto came Jacques Balmas, François Garrou, and Jean Étienne Garrou and families. All of these united with the Italian Presbyterian Church, which, in 1928, took the name of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church. At other times came additional families, some from the valleys, others from various points in Italy. Prominent among the latter were the Cereghinis, members of the Waldensian Church of Castello Pian' de Malvaro of Genoa, descendants of Stephano Cereghini, who had become converted to Protestantism and who was an influential evangelist in Favole during the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁴

Not all of the Chicago Waldenses have remained in the Italian Presbyterian Church. Several other Italian churches of the city have had as their organizers those who had first been members of Grilli's congregation. The West Taylor Street Mission, now the St. John's Presbyterian Church under the Reverend Dr. Pasquale Ricciardi di Carlo, was founded and directed for many years by Grilli. Several of the former members of this mission are now influential leaders in the First Italian Methodist Church, whose pastor is the Reverend A. Mautone. The Moody Italian Church, under the Reverend Mr. Scorza, has among its members former parishioners of Grilli. But the Italian church which counts the largest number of Grilli's former members is the Italian Pentecostal Church.

Grilli had been accustomed to use the system of testimony meetings for his midweek sessions. One summer he returned for a visit to the

¹³ *Sempre Avanti*, III (Nov., 1921), 24.

¹⁴ See p. 192, below.

valleys, leaving the work of the church in the hands of his elders. On his return to Chicago he found that about thirty of his flock had withdrawn and were forming a Pentecostal church. Of these, two families, the Jean Étienne Garrous and the Perrous from Prali, were Waldensian. They had come under the influence of the Salvation Army before emigrating to America. Neither family remained long with the Pentecostal organization: Perrou removed to the West, and the Garrous joined the Moody Italian Church.

Grilli had come to Chicago, immediately after his ordination, about 1889, as pastor of the Waldensian Church, to succeed the Reverend Michele Nardi. The latter had done a fruitful work of evangelization among the Italians of the city. Grilli gave up his pastoral duties before reaching the age of retirement. He, however, remained in Chicago, where he died in 1939. Grilli was followed by the Reverend Bartholomew Tron, who served the church successfully until he resigned for service during the First World War. The Reverend Pietro Fant, a former Catholic priest, was then pastor of the church for several years. In 1927 the church was merged with the Presbyterian Samaritan Church. The following year it took the name of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church, with the Reverend Ernesto G. Merlanti serving as stated supply. In 1937 the Reverend Sylvan S. Poet from the Waldensian valleys became pastor. He resigned in February, 1939, to become pastor of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church of Valdese, North Carolina.¹⁵

For many years Waldenses have lived in various parts of California. The earliest of whom there is a record was a Mr. Combe who came to Illinois with a few friends from the Waldensian valleys about 1860. He served in the Union Army, and several years later moved to Santa Clara County, California. In 1882 Auguste Maynier from near Villar moved to Santa Cruz from Neosho, Missouri. The following year Maynier sent for his wife, his son John, and his two daughters. With Mrs. Maynier went her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Rivoir, of Monett. All of this group have since died. With the above party there also went from Monett, Étienne Courdin and Jean P. S. Planchon, natives of Uruguay, and Martha Reynaud, born in the Waldensian valleys. In 1886 the last two married and returned to Monett. He was killed in an accident north of Monett in 1926. His widow still resides in Monett. Two of their sons now reside in California.

In September, 1893, four Waldensian young men, Henri Malan,

¹⁵ This material, as well as much which follows, was furnished by Pastor Griglio of the First Waldensian Church of New York.

Émile W. Combe, David Plavan, and Frank D. Plavan, left Monett for San José, where they were employed by Jean P. S. Planchon in a vineyard. At that time Courdin was conductor and driver of a horse-car on the line between San José and Santa Clara. He lived later in Los Angeles and Riverside; thence he returned to Missouri, where he served as first mayor of Monett. He later came again to California, settling in Orange County, near Santa Ana. Malan and Combe returned to Monett, where Combe became elder in the Waldensian Presbyterian Church. David Plavan has died and Frank D. Plavan is now an elder in the Presbyterian Church of Santa Ana.

At the present time the following natives of Uruguay live in California: Étienne J. Courdin, Eliza Planchon Schneider, David Planchon, Pierre Planchon, Catherine Planchon Plavan—all residing near Santa Ana—and Joseph Planchon, of Escalon. The following natives of the Waldensian valleys live near Santa Ana: John and Joel Griset; Mrs. Louise Vola Griset, who has three sons, Charles, Stephen, and Eugene; and Frank D. Plavan. Mrs. Mary Griset Jacques, sister of John and Joel, was a member of the group until her death early in 1940. The principal occupation of these Waldensian-Americans is agriculture. Fruits and vegetables are the leading products. Most of them are members of the Presbyterian Church. Three have served as elders of the First Presbyterian Church of Santa Ana. There are many descendants, children and grandchildren, of the pioneers who came to California from Uruguay or the Waldensian valleys by way of Monett. A considerable intermarriage with native American stock makes it increasingly difficult to discern the Waldensian identity.¹⁶

As we noted in a preceding chapter,¹⁷ the Reverend J. P. Solomon left Monett for California in 1884 in an attempt to regain his health. He died in Tustin the following year. His widow and children remained in California. The oldest son, Samuel, was for many years engaged in missionary work in Southern California; another, Alfred, is Professor of French at the University of California and author of textbooks; Edward Solomon is a high-school teacher; and other sons have engaged in business.¹⁸

In San José there are Mr. and Mrs. Lamy Balmas, who are engaged in the restaurant trade, and Marguerite Plavan Nitti.¹⁹

In Monterey three Waldensian families reside. Mrs. Aline Olcari, nee Ribet, has for a long while occupied a useful place in the religious

¹⁶ Most of this information on the California Waldenses was furnished by Frank D. Plavan.

¹⁷ See p. 65, above.

¹⁸ Letter of Professor Alfred Solomon to author, Nov. 8, 1939.

¹⁹ Letter of Frank D. Plavan to author, March 31, 1940.

life of the Italians of the region. In 1922, assisted by a retired evangelist, Miss Mary Jameson, of Rochester, New York, she started the Italian Evangelical Church of Monterey with the organization of a Bible class for Italians. She opened her home to her countrymen, most of whom were Catholic fishermen from Sicily. As a result of her untiring efforts this class increased in numbers through the years until in 1935 the Italian Evangelical Church of Monterey completed a beautiful new edifice.²⁰ The Benech and Prospère Hugon families²¹ also live near Monterey.

In San Francisco there are at least two Waldensian families, the Brunets and Plencs. In Santa Barbara is Mrs. Jenny Ribet. One Waldensian family lives in Arbuckle, California.

The Italian Church of Portland, Oregon, was founded by a small group of Waldensian converts residing there. The leaders of this organization were members of the Cereghini family.

In Galveston, Texas, there are many Italian Protestants, all converted through the missionary labors of the Waldensian Church. The first family settled there about fifty years ago. They were joined by relatives and friends, most of whom came from Tuscany. They united with the various Protestant churches of the city. In 1927 the Reverend Arturo D'Albergo, originally from Sicily and a convert of the Waldensian Church, came to Galveston and organized the Valdeese Presbyterian Church. The name was chosen "as a token of gratitude to the Church that gave us a new light in the Gospel." In 1919 and 1920 D'Albergo served as pastor of the Waldensian churches of Pachino and Syracuse, Sicily.²²

The Italian Presbyterian Church of Rochester, New York, is made up largely of Waldensian converts from Grotte, Sicily. Before 1908 a considerable group of members of the Waldensian Church had emigrated from Grotte, where there was little work save in the sulphur mines, and had settled in Rochester and vicinity, where they found work in factories. Dr. Alberto Clot, a graduate of the Waldensian Theological Seminary, who had served as their pastor in Sicily, came to America in 1908 as representative of the Waldensian Church. He decided to establish his residence in Rochester in order to be near his friends.²³ He enlisted the co-operation of the Brick Presbyterian Church with a view of founding a Waldensian congregation. A church known as the Italian Waldensian Presbyterian Church of the Evangel was

²⁰ *Monterey Peninsula-Herald*, Aug. 7, 1935. See *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, III, 2.

²¹ Letter of Mrs. Oleari to author, Sept. 28, 1939.

²² Letter of Pastor Arturo D'Albergo to author, Oct. 28, 1939.

²³ Letters of Mr. Alberto Clot to author, Feb. 12, 24, 1940.

organized on July 4, 1909, under the leadership of Pastor Giovanni Tron. There were twenty members at that time. One year later there were sixty-one members, all of the new adherents having been originally Roman Catholics. Meetings were held for the first few years in Frankfort Masonic Temple. Later the congregation erected its own building. This group, now under the Home Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, has been served by the following pastors: Giovanni Tron, Giovanni Pons, a Mr. Vitale, Michele Frasca, and Francis Vincent Gringone.²⁴

Dr. Clot remained in America until his death on September 15, 1916. He was active in the work of the American Waldensian Aid Society, serving as director of its bureau of immigration, which was started in 1912. He was instrumental in founding an Italian Presbyterian mission in Reed, Pennsylvania. He sent several immigrants to settle in Reed and Ernest, Pennsylvania, and in other small communities, believing that they would be better off tilling the soil than remaining in the large cities of America. He visited Italian immigrants in many places as he traveled about the United States and Canada in connection with the founding of new branches of the American Waldensian Aid Society. He went to Valdese, North Carolina, on many occasions, preaching and baptizing children. He was a frequent attendant of the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian churches of America. He did much writing for American and Italian religious papers. He published a *Guida per gli Emigranti Italiani negli Stati Uniti e nel Canada*, which contained a list of all the Italian Protestant churches in these two countries, information about securing citizenship, vocabularies, etc. A first edition of twenty thousand copies was quickly sold and a second was printed.²⁵ Mrs. Clot is still in America, residing in Little River, Miami, Florida.

There are in Philadelphia and its environs about thirty Waldensian families. They have never formed a Waldensian church, having united with other Protestant bodies. They keep in touch with the Mother Church through the efforts of the Reverend Pietro Griglio of New York, who visits them once yearly and conducts, in the homes of members of the group, a celebration on the seventeenth of February, a custom which was started in 1925. At this first festivity a fund of fifty-five dollars was raised for the Old People's Home of San Germano and the King Albert Refuge of Luserna San Giovanni.²⁶ Similar gifts are sent regularly.

²⁴ Data furnished by Pastor Giovanni Tron.

²⁵ Enrico Sartorio, *A Brief History of the Waldensians* (New York, 1921), pp. 14-15.

²⁶ *L'Écho des Vallées*, LXI, No. 21.

In 1925 about forty Waldenses resided in Philadelphia, many of whom came from Villar or other villages of the Luserna Valley. Several of the Waldensian young women had married men of other nationalities and their children had become entirely Americanized, especially as regards the language. Six of the young men of the group had died within the space of a few years. Of them an anonymous writer declared: "The work demanded of them in the hotels is very hard and the climate of Philadelphia is most murderous for strangers."²⁷ Among the names met in this small colony are: Janavel, Allio, Rambaud, Bertinat, Bouissa, Marauda, Berton, Bein, Baltera, Baridon, Durand, Pontet, Davyt, Malan, Charbonnier, and Giraudin.

Waldensian families are to be found, usually on farms, in many other sections. Among them are families in Whonnock, British Columbia; Ramseyville, Ontario; Cazenovia, Walden, Pawling, and Woodcliff Lake, New York; Jewett and Mystic, Connecticut; and Hammenton, New Jersey. Philippe Richard with his family, who came to Valdese in 1893 with the first party, moved to Norfolk, Virginia, where his sons now conduct a machine repair business under the name of the Richard Machine Works.²⁸ Another member of the first Valdese group, Jacques H. Tron, sold his farm and removed to a large farm near White Pine, Tennessee, where members of the family still reside. Other former citizens of Valdese are located in various North Carolina towns, for example, the Micols of Durham and the Martinats of Lenoir.

The influence of the Waldensian Church on the Italian Protestant churches of many denominations in America can hardly be over-emphasized. The work of evangelization in Italy won many converts who emigrated to America. Many of the pastors of Italian congregations in America have been ordained Waldensian pastors, sons of Waldensian manses, or converts to Protestantism of the Waldensian Church.

In 1894 a Waldensian pastor, the Reverend Albert Billour, ordained in Torre Pellice in 1893, organized a church for French and Italians in Spring Valley, Illinois. The church was known as the French Congregational Church. Services were held in the buildings of the coal company which operated the mines of this region. Billour also conducted an evening school, giving instruction in English to groups of Italians. In 1896 he married the sister of a Congregational minister of Spring Valley.²⁹ He remained there until 1898, then served in Pittsburgh

²⁷ *Ibid.*, LXI (April 3, 1925).

²⁸ Letter of Mr. Stephen Richard to author, March 11, 1939.

²⁹ *Le Témoin*, Aug. 20, 1896, p. 269.

until 1911. He returned to Italy and became pastor of the Waldensian Church of Vallecrosia, Liguria, and director of the orphanage of that place until 1926. He then was pastor for two years in Brindisi, retiring in 1928. Billour died in Florence in 1938.⁸⁰ Billour seems to have attracted other Waldenses to Spring Valley. Jacques Martinat, who had been known in his native village of Prali as "Jacques de Rome," because of having been a teacher in the Eternal City, and who had been one of the first Waldenses to go to Chicago, was there during Billour's pastorate. Jean Étienne Rostan, of Prali, as has already been stated, died in Spring Valley.⁸¹ Some of the colonists of Valdese spent over a year in Spring Valley, working in the coal mines.⁸²

A son of a Waldensian manse, the Reverend Ulrich Gay, born in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, has been pastor of the French Evangelical Church of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, for the past twenty-three years. His wife Alice, nee Gonnet, is also Waldensian. His work is among the French Protestants who came to Pittsfield at the beginning of the present century to work in the woolen mills of the city. Most of his congregation are now employed in the Pittsfield works of the General Electric Company.⁸³

The Reverend Giovanni Tron has long worked among the Italians in the United States. He held an official diploma as schoolmaster in the public schools of Italy and served the Waldensian Church as evangelist in the Abruzzi before coming to America early in the twentieth century. His first post here was Poughkeepsie, New York, where he organized a mission among the Italians. He then went to Rochester, New York, where he built up the Italian Waldensian Church of the Evangel. He was later employed by the Presbyteries of New York and Brooklyn in work among the Italians. He now ministers to the Church of the Saviour of Montclair, New Jersey, and teaches Romance languages at the Bloomfield College and Theological Seminary.⁸⁴

The Reverend Professor Pietro E. Monnet was another son of the Waldensian Church who did notable work in America. After service in the schools of Sicily he became professor at the Waldensian Latin School of Pomaretto. Coming to the United States during the first decade of the present century, he was first engaged in work among the converted Sicilians of Roset, Pennsylvania. Later he went to Cleveland, Ohio, where he took charge of the Italian work of the Church of the Covenant. His large congregation gradually diminished, since

⁸⁰ Letter of Moderator Ernesto Comba to author, Jan. 8, 1940.

⁸¹ See p. 175, above.

⁸² See Appendix, pp. 241-242.

⁸³ Letter of the Reverend Ulrich Gay to author, Dec. 10, 1939.

⁸⁴ Letter of the Reverend Giovanni Tron to author.

many of the Italians removed to another district of the city, where they founded a new organization. Monnet remained in Cleveland until he reached the age of retirement. He then removed to Valdese, where he often preached in the absence of the pastor. He made generous gifts to the church of Valdese and to the Waldensian Church of Italy.

The Reverend Théophile D. Malan, who held the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Sacred Theology, established himself in Philadelphia late in the nineteenth century and remained there more than thirty-five years, engaged in pastoral and educational work. During the first decade of the twentieth century he preached in English and Italian at the Eleventh Street Methodist Episcopal Church and in French in the Covenant Chapel, Eighteenth and Spruce streets. He was in charge of night classes and conducted a school of languages which offered work in French, German, Italian, and Latin. He published a trilingual monthly, *La Verità*. In 1911 Malan lived in Berlin, New Jersey, and would have offered to serve the church of Valdese, except for his poor health.⁸⁵ Later he became pastor of the French Episcopal Church of Saint Sauveur in Philadelphia, retiring on a pension and returning to the Waldensian valleys. He addressed the Waldensian Synod of 1926, speaking of the work of the American Waldensian Aid Society and the Fédération Vaudoise.⁸⁶ He returned to the United States in the autumn of 1939 and died early in 1940. He was the author of a collection of poems, *Heures d'Exil*.⁸⁷

For many years from about 1890 the Reverend Philippe Grill, a native of Prali, now pastor emeritus in Florence, labored among the Italians of Iron Mountain, Michigan, and St. Louis.

Among the younger ministers of Waldensian extraction is the Reverend Auguste Armand-Hugon, a graduate of Bloomfield Theological Seminary. He assisted in the work of the Waldensian congregation of the Knox Memorial Church in 1925-1926. He was ordained as a Presbyterian pastor and called to direct the Italian Department of the Olivet Memorial Church and the DeWitt Memorial Church, both operated by the New York City Mission Society. More recently this work has been consolidated, and is now being carried on at the Olivet Memorial Church.⁸⁸

Several doctors of medicine of Waldensian extraction have prac-

⁸⁵ Letter of the Reverend T. D. Malan to Antoine Grill of Valdese, Oct. 3, 1911.

⁸⁶ *L'Écho des Vallées*, LXI.

⁸⁷ *L'Eco delle Valli Valdesi*, LXXVI (March 29, 1940).

⁸⁸ *L'Écho des Vallées*, LXI. See *Hand Book, 1938-1939, of New York Presbytery*, p. 10.

ticed in the United States: Dr. G. T. Ribetti, of Pittsburgh; Dr. Stanley Tron, son of the Reverend Dr. C. A. Tron, the leader of the first group of colonists to Valdese; Dr. George A. Jervis; and Dr. Louis Long. Dr. Ribetti, a graduate of the Waldensian college of Torre Pellice and the Theological Seminary of Florence, was consecrated by the Waldensian Synod, came to America, and worked among the Italians of Pittsburgh under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. After several years of this evangelistic work he took up the study of medicine, becoming a successful physician of Pittsburgh with a large clientele. Ribetti frequently expressed his regret at having abandoned the Christian ministry. He married a woman of distinction of Pittsburgh. While his wife lay dying in a hospital of that city, he suffered an accident which left him crippled and in pain for the remainder of his life: a window-washer fell on him as he was walking along the street. Ribetti was a generous contributor to the work of the Waldensian Church, and in his will left all his savings to it.

Dr. Tron pursued medical studies in New York City, where he practiced with success until his early death. Dr. Jervis, son and grandson of Waldensian women, was trained in Italy and is now at the Psychiatric Institute of the Medical Center, New York City. For some years Dr. Louis Long practiced in New York City. An intelligent, yet eccentric, individual, a student of astrology, Long specialized in dietetics. He had been originally an engraver, and in addition to his practice of medicine, he engaged in real estate and colonization ventures. Long was residing in New York City during the 1920's.⁸⁹ A young Waldensian, Remo Gay of Brooklyn, is now a medical student in New York City.

Among the teachers of Waldensian ancestry who have taught French and other modern languages in America are Messrs. Jean Pons, pastor at Valdese, who taught for several years at Rutherford College, North Carolina; Stephen Guigou, of Valdese, whose career was cut short by his early death after successful experience at Princeton and Ohio State universities; his brother, L. P. Guigou, who was for a time principal of the Asheville Farm School; Alfred Solomon, son of the first pastor of Monett, professor of French at the University of California; Francis Ghigo, son of the former pastor of Valdese, who is now professor at Hampden-Sydney College; Émile Tron, of the Technical High School, Brooklyn; Dr. Joel Bounous, author of *The Waldensian Patois of Pramol*, of Missouri State Teachers' College, Springfield, Missouri; and Dr. James L. Barker, Dean of the Department of Modern

⁸⁹ *L'Écho des Vallées*, Sept. 24, 1926, p. 2.

Languages of the University of Utah and author of many scholarly articles.

Two lawyers of Waldensian extraction are Messrs. Tron, of Washington, D. C., and Godin, of Philadelphia.

Many Waldensian women have been active in missionary work and as pastor's aides in the Italian churches of America. Among them the following may be mentioned: Miss Eleanora Micol, of Trenton, New Jersey; Miss Henriette Grill, of Poughkeepsie, New York, who later married the Reverend Mr. Villante, Italian Presbyterian pastor of New Rochelle, New York, and who is now in the service of the Interdenominational Missionary Society of Poughkeepsie; Miss Helen Caïrus, later Mrs. Bongarzone, wife of the pastor of the Italian Lutheran Church of Union Hill, New Jersey; Miss Marguerite Caïrus, the present assistant of the Reverend Giovanni Tron, of Montclair, New Jersey; Miss Clotilde Gaudin, who was Mr. Tron's assistant while he served in Brooklyn; Miss Esther Viglielmo, who was a worker in the United Presbyterian Mission in the Bronx under the pastorate of the Reverend M. Papa, and who became the wife of the Reverend Pietro Di Nardo of Newark, New Jersey, where she is still active; Miss Pauline Geymonat of the Charlton Street Church of the New York City Mission; and Miss Plavan of the Dutch Reformed Church of Newburgh, New York. Miss Hélène Rochat, now Mrs. Metcalf, sister of the Waldensian pastor, Giovanni Rochat, founded the Italian mission of New Rochelle, New York, and has long been its guiding genius. Other Waldensian wives of Italian pastors are the late Mrs. Carbo, nee Frache, of New Jersey, and Mrs. Emma Moncado, nee Plavan, of Newburgh, New York. Miss Hilda Hugon, a graduate of the Assembly's Training School, Richmond, Virginia, is the wife of Dr. T. M. Cunningham, of Denton, Texas, and serves as student worker of the First Presbyterian Church of that city.

Among the Waldensian women who have pursued college studies and have become teachers in America are the Misses Ghigo and Tron, of Valdese, and Miss Lillian Barbieri-Chauvie and Miss Julie Poet, of New York City.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Much of the material for this chapter was furnished by Pastor Pietro Griglio of New York City.

CHAPTER XII

AMERICAN CO-OPERATION

For more than a century the Waldensian Church has received the support of American Protestants. The first recorded effort by an American in favor of the Waldenses was made on Easter Sunday, April 3, 1828, when Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York preached a sermon, "Christian Sympathy," to the congregation of English Protestants in the city of Rome "on the occasion of a collection for the benefit of the Vaudois or Waldenses in Piedmont."¹

Although American Protestantism did not become fully aroused to the needs of their Italian brothers until they had been granted religious and political rights by Charles Albert in 1848, there had long been an active interest in the Waldensian Church by the American society which was called successively the French Association, The Foreign Evangelical Society, and The American and Foreign Christian Union.

In 1834 the Reverend Robert Baird, D.D., became the European agent for the French Association. He was much interested in the Waldenses, visiting them in 1837, 1843, and 1851, and publishing in 1845 his *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy*.² It was doubtless due to Baird's efforts that in 1844 money was raised for the first time in America in support of the Waldensian Church; in that year the Foreign Evangelical Society sent \$300 to furnish libraries for fifteen Waldensian parishes.³ By 1853 more than \$2,500 had been collected and contributed to the Waldensian Synod to aid in the construction of churches, the education of young men for the ministry, and the work of evangelization.⁴ Until about 1884 this society raised large sums of money in America, maintained agents in Italy, and worked in close co-operation with the Waldensian Church and the Free Italian Church.

¹ Robert Baird, *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy* (Boston, 1845), p. 368; John Henry Hobart, D.D., *Christian Sympathy, a Sermon Preached to the Congregation of English Protestants in the City of Rome, Italy, on Easter Sunday, April 3, 1825, on the Occasion of a Collection for the Benefit of the Vaudois or Waldenses in Piedmont* (London-printed; New York: Reprinted by T. and J. Swords, 1825).

² See p. 205, below.

³ Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

⁴ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, IV (June, 1853), 283-286. This organ records the visit of two American representatives to the Waldensian Synod of 1851, when the Reverend Mr. Reynolds and the Reverend Lemuel Olmstead attended the sessions which opened in Pomaretto on May 26 (II, 285).

The story of the organization's efforts can be found in its official organs, *The American and Foreign Christian Union* and its successor *The Christian World*. In these journals reports, in almost every number, outline the active help given to the Waldensian Church and its campaign of evangelization in Italy. It will not be necessary to relate here in complete detail this story, but note will be made of many of the more important details.⁵

The first volume of *The American and Foreign Christian Union* devotes many pages to the Waldenses. Many of its issues are illustrated with engravings of Waldensian scenes. There are several articles, dealing with the history, contemporary condition, and prospects of the people. Much of this material is based on Dr. Baird's *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy*. In this volume there is a letter to Dr. Baird from the moderator of the Waldensian Church thanking him for a letter which had contained \$175, the gift of a "Friend," for the support of one or two evangelists. The Waldensian Table requested Dr. Baird to lend his assistance in securing funds for the work in Turin, where a church and several other buildings were required. The same issue announced that a few women in Oswego, New York, had sent more than \$50 for the work in Turin, and that a gentleman of the same city had offered to be one of ten to give \$50 each.⁶

By 1850 the society had two agents in Italy, "one of the earliest fields" of its labors.⁷ One, the Reverend George H. Hastings, was studying the Italian language, and the other, an Italian, was making extracts from the fathers of the Church, "with which to combat the errors and pretensions of Rome."⁸ The society was also sustaining an American chapel in Rome, under the protection of the consulate, "the only Protestant service in English within the walls."⁹ This chapel was successively ministered to by the Reverend G. H. Hastings, the Reverend Charles W. Baird, the Reverend E. D. G. Prime, the Reverend A. W. McClure, and the Reverend E. Edwin Hall.¹⁰

In 1852 Hastings went to Turin "with the hope of being useful in

⁵ *The American and Foreign Christian Union* was the successor of *The American Protestant Magazine*, which was published from June, 1845, to December, 1849. The latter was published under the direction of the American Protestant Society. In the last issue, published by the American and Foreign Christian Union is the statement: "It will hereafter be styled *The American and Foreign Christian Union*" (No. 7). In *The American Protestant Magazine* there are several references to the Waldenses. These articles deal usually with some phase of Waldensian history. See I, 112 ff., 118 ff., 178 ff.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, I (Feb., 1850), 49.

⁷ *The Christian World*, March, 1883, p. 72.

⁸ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, I, 278-279.

⁹ *The Christian World*, March, 1883, p. 72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Piedmont and especially among the Waldenses." The other missionary was then engaged in preparing an Italian translation of *Religion in America*.¹¹ In the 1850's "the political and religious state of the peninsula compelled the Board to work with great caution"; as a result, these laborers were "working very quietly in Piedmont."¹²

In 1853 the interest in America in the Waldenses was given a great impetus by a visit of the Moderator, the Reverend Dr. Jean P. Revel. He and Mrs. Revel arrived in New York early in May¹³ and remained until July 9, 1853.¹⁴ The causes for which he came soliciting aid were: (1) to add and endow a theological department of the Waldensian college of Torre Pellice, (2) to build "a neat and comfortable church at Pinerolo," (3) to help in opening chapels in Genoa, Casale, Novi, and many other places, (4) to help to employ evangelists and colporteurs "to spread the Gospel in all the Kingdom of Sardinia."¹⁵

Dr. Revel attended the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, New School, which met in Buffalo. On May 20, 1853, he was presented and invited to address the gathering. The Assembly voted the following resolution: "The General Assembly, having heard and considered the mission to this country of Rev. Jean P. Revel, the present Moderator of the Waldensian Synod, express their confidence and cordial esteem toward him and his object, and recommend both to the favor of the churches as especially worthy."¹⁶

The following week he was present at the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Old School, meeting in Philadelphia from May 19 to June 3, 1853. Dr. Robert Baird, representing New Brunswick Presbytery, announced to the Assembly on May 21 that Dr. Revel would attend the sessions. After this announcement the Assembly resolved "That it be made the first order of the day for Thursday morning next to receive him and hear him."¹⁷

On Thursday, May 26, 1853, Revel was introduced by the Moderator, the Reverend John C. Young, D.D., President of Centre College. After a brief address by Revel and a response by Young, "with mutual salutations," the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "The Assembly has heard with deep interest the statements of the

¹¹ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, III (Aug., 1853), 226.

¹² *The Christian World*, March, 1883, p. 72.

¹³ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, IV (June, 1853), 283-286.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV (Sept., 1853), 413.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 283-286.

¹⁶ *Minutes of the General Assembly, New School, of the Presbyterian Church* (1853), p. 304. See William Rankin, article in *The Church at Home and Abroad*, Feb., 1889, p. 145.

¹⁷ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1853), p. 430.

Rev. Mr. Revel, and it commends him to the cordial sympathy and confidence, and generous aid of the churches." Revel took leave of the Assembly on June 2 "in a brief expression of fraternal love, which was reciprocated by the Moderator."¹⁸

Dr. Young drew up an appeal of the General Assembly in behalf of the Waldenses, which was transmitted to all the Presbyterian churches. Herein he reviewed the history of the Waldensian Evangelical Church, "which can trace her lineage, in a direct line, to that primitive Church, which, for aught we know, was founded by apostolic labors"; spoke of its missionary enterprises and of a plan to "found a Theological School, which shall train a native ministry adapted to the great work of evangelizing Papal Europe"; and stated that the sum of fifty thousand dollars was imperatively needed. He requested the churches to send their contributions, "at as early a period as possible," to the Honorable Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, in New York.¹⁹

During the sessions of the Old School Assembly two large public meetings were held in the Central Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, at which addresses were made by Drs. Smythe, Murray, Breckinridge, and Palmer, as well as by the Honorable Walter Lowrie and Dr. Robert Baird. The church subscribed one thousand dollars toward endowing the Theological Seminary.²⁰

Dr. Revel attended the session of June 3, 1853, of the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church in Philadelphia. He was introduced by Dr. Robert Baird; the latter spoke of the work of the American and Foreign Christian Union, which then had one hundred and eighteen missionaries, eighty-five of whom were in the United States. Dr. Revel then addressed the Synod, telling of the history and persecutions of the Waldenses. He asked the Synod, "in view of the old relation of the Waldensian Church to Holland and the Church of our Fathers, that this venerable Synod would undertake the support of one professorship in their college, the one formerly but now no longer supported from Germany."²¹ The Synod resolved that "we would assure them of the confidence and high regard which the Reformed Dutch Church of North America entertained for them and earnestly commend the claims of said Church to the confidence and liberality of the churches under our care."²² A committee, consisting of Dr.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 595 f.

²⁰ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, IV (July, 1853), 330.

²¹ *The Christian Intelligencer*, XXIII, 193.

²² *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America, Convened in the City of Philadelphia, June, 1853*, VIII, 383.

DeWitt and Elders Van Ness and C. F. Crosby, was authorized to raise by contributions from members of the Dutch Church the sum of \$400.²³ The following year the committee reported to the Synod that the sum of \$579.25 had been raised, \$400 of which had been remitted in October through the treasurer of the American and Foreign Christian Union.²⁴ The Synod passed a further resolution, commending the Waldensian Church to the liberal consideration of the members of their churches, and suggesting that "whenever circumstances permit, collections be taken for the benefit of their institutions."²⁵ In 1855 the Synod received a letter from Dr. Revel, thanking it for the sum of \$200 which had been sent to aid "in educating students preparing for the sacred ministry" in the Waldensian college.²⁶

A meeting of ministers of the Gospel and others, belonging to various Protestant churches, was held in the Reformed Church, Ninth Street, New York City. The following committee of twelve was named "to assist by their counsels, and in other ways, the Rev. Mr. Revel": Thomas DeWitt, of the Reformed Dutch Church; William Adams, of the Presbyterian Church; G. Thurston Bedell, of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Gardiner Spring, of the Presbyterian Church; M. B. Anderson, of the Baptist Church, editor of the *New York Recorder*; Thomas E. Bond, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, editor of the *Christian Advocate*; Charles F. E. Stohlman, of the Lutheran Church; David Bigler, of the Moravian Church; Hugh H. Blair, of the Associate Church; Alexander H. Wright, of the Associate Reformed Church; John N. McLeod, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; and George B. Cheever, of the Congregational Church. This committee described the work of the Waldensian Church and made an appeal to the Protestant churches of the country, of every name.²⁷

The response to the appeals of the committee and of the religious press was immediate. *The American and Foreign Christian Union* received \$50 from three Baptist friends in Baltimore, \$10 from a gentleman in Memphis, \$50 from a young gentleman of New York, \$10 from a "worthy" Methodist Minister from Georgetown, South Carolina, \$100 from a young Presbyterian minister of Cleveland. "But we need not say more," said the official organ, "save that from all parts of our country donations have been sent—even from California."²⁸ By August, 1853, the treasurer of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions announced gifts of \$6,000 from comparatively few donors.²⁹

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 536-537.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV (Sept., 1853), 413 ff.

²⁹ *Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1853), IV, 240.

Dr. Revel had "been heard with deep interest by many Christians in Boston, Providence, New Haven, New Brunswick, New York, and other places" before embarking on the *Baltic* for the return voyage.⁸⁰ He bore with him \$4,000 for the construction of the church of Pinerolo, and it was expected that a similar sum would be sent shortly for the same object by the American and Foreign Christian Union.⁸¹

The money collected for the endowment of the Theological Seminary of Torre Pellice was put into a Waldensian Fund,⁸² which was administered by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church through its Committee on Missions in Papal Europe. For the year 1853-1854 the sum of \$7,786.73 was collected and invested.⁸³ In addition, the committee forwarded to Italy \$2,100, of which \$1,100 was for the support of preachers and colporteurs among the Waldenses, and \$1,000 for the purchase and distribution of Bibles by them.⁸⁴ The following year \$4,827.88 was contributed for the Waldensian Fund.⁸⁵ When the collections for the fund were closed, the total amounted to \$22,100. Interest amounting to \$1,123.50 was sent to Italy annually. In 1904 Miss Emily Wheeler, a member of the board of the Waldensian Society of New York, added \$10,000 to the fund, making a total of \$32,100.⁸⁶ This money is still in the hands of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. At the request of the Waldensian Table the interest is turned over yearly to the American Waldensian Aid Society, which forwards it to Italy.

In the annual reports of the Venerable Table to the Waldensian Synod many references are made to moneys received from America, either as the interest from the Waldensian Fund or as gifts from other sources. In 1858, for example, in addition to the interest amounting to 7,456.44 francs, a sum of 5,136.25 francs, sent by a Mr. Stuart, of New York, with 3,000 francs on hand, awaited shipment.⁸⁷ In 1860 Mr. Douglas, of New York, sent 545 francs, and Mr. Lowrie forwarded 3,000 francs for the salary of a professor, as well as the yearly interest of the fund.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, IV (July, 1853), 330.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, IV (Sept., 1853), 413 ff.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1854), p. 193.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* (1855), p. 317.

⁸⁶ Letter to the author from the Reverend R. W. Anthony, March 7, 1940. See *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1939), p. 178.

⁸⁷ *Rapport de la Table au Synode*, 1858.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* (1860).

One of the most generous benefactors was James Lenox, called by the Waldenses "our constant friend,"³⁹ who gave regularly large sums for such causes as parish libraries, book funds, church buildings, professorships, the colony of Rosario Oriental, Uruguay, and evangelization in Italy.⁴⁰ A Waldensian window was placed in the First Presbyterian Church of New York by the Lenox family. The church has no record of the circumstances which led to its being there, but it remains as evidence of the interest of this prominent family in the cause of the Waldenses.⁴¹

Many organizations and individuals made their donations to the cause. Among the interesting contributions recorded is that of a ten-dollar gold piece sent in 1873 by the Chinese Presbyterian Church of San Francisco.⁴²

Returning now to the activities of the American and Foreign Christian Union, we find that, even though it was forced to work "with great caution" until the time of Garibaldi, yet it continued to raise important sums of money and give "effective support," which touched and encouraged the Venerable Table of the Waldensian Church.⁴³

In the February, 1855, issue of *The American and Foreign Christian Union* there appears an interesting letter from General Beckwith, the great patron of the Waldenses, to the students of Williams College, thanking them for having constituted Mrs. Beckwith and himself life members and himself a life director of the society.⁴⁴

With the unification of Italy came a greatly renewed effort by the American and Foreign Christian Union. As is stated in the official record: "As soon as, in the marvelous providence of God, 22,000,000 out of 25,000,000 of Italians were rendered accessible to the truth, the Society hastened to take advantage of the happy change."⁴⁵

Its first step was to send the Reverend E. Edwin Hall to Florence on April 27, 1861. "He was to labor for the spiritual interests of Americans in that city, and particularly to organize an effective committee, through which the Board might carry on its missionary efforts in Italy. During the first year Mr. Hall, besides maintaining an American chapel, employed ten native missionaries—evangelists and

³⁹ *Ibid.* (1872), p. 21.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* (1864, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, etc.).

⁴¹ For information on James Lenox, see James Lenox Banks, *Genealogy of the Banks and Allied Families* (New York: Privately printed, 1938).

⁴² *Rapport de la Table au Synode* (1873), p. 49.

⁴³ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, VII (July, 1856), 215-216, 81-84, 151, 373.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 60-63.

⁴⁵ *The Christian World*, March, 1883, p. 72.

colporteurs—being largely guided in his selection of proper individuals by the counsel of Professor Revel.—The next year the number of laborers was more than doubled, twenty-one being sustained for the whole or a part of the year.”⁴⁶ Early in 1863 four schools with one hundred and twenty scholars were under the care of the society. In one school fifty boys, all sons of Roman Catholics, were enrolled.⁴⁷ Missionary work had been opened on the Island of Elba, with all the expenses paid by the society.⁴⁸ The work was already widespread, there being missionary stations in the Val D’Aosta and Naples, and a school in Brescia. During the same year another American, a Mr. Woodruff, of Brooklyn, arrived to assist in the Waldensian Sunday School of Genoa.⁴⁹ Another American missionary, the Reverend Mr. Moorhead, was in Longone, Island of Elba, learning the language and holding three religious services weekly.⁵⁰ The Reverend Mr. and Mrs. William Clark and their daughter also arrived in Italy in 1863, making Milan the headquarters of their missionary activities.⁵¹

Among the native Italians whom the society was assisting was Stephano Cereghini, an outstanding figure in the work of evangelization in Italy and the ancestor of the Cereghinis who have done effective work among the Italians of Portland, Oregon.⁵² As a young man Stephano Cereghini was a wandering minstrel in Favole. On one of his tours he went to Piedmont, and in Pinerolo he learned that the near-by valleys were inhabited by Protestants. He went to Torre Pellice, where he played his violin in the streets. A Protestant woman invited him to dine with her. He was introduced to a Waldensian pastor, and shortly afterwards Cereghini wrote to his parents: “I have found the Bible! I have found the Bible!” His parents were angry and on his return to Favole they prayed that he might be restored to Catholicism. He got in touch with a Waldensian pastor in Genoa who came to Favole, instructing and converting the family. He was sent to the Theological Seminary and three years later was ordained a Waldensian pastor. He built up a church of about sixty members in Favole, and did much missionary work in the surrounding districts. For his services he received yearly from \$100 to \$120 from the people and \$50 from the American and Foreign Christian Union.⁵³

In 1864 workers were placed at eleven stations. There were three

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XIV (March, 1863), 81-82.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV (Dec., 1863), 377.

⁵⁰ *The Christian World*, XV (Jan., 1864), 14-17.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XIV (April, 1863), 97-100.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XIV (Nov., 1863), 335-336.

⁵² See p. 178, above.

American and twenty Italian laborers, evangelists, colporteurs, and teachers. The society was also sustaining two students for the ministry at the college of Torre Pellice and the Theological Seminary of Florence.⁵⁴ In 1866 the society had Mr. Hall in Florence with twenty-seven Italian helpers, Mr. Clark at Milan with twenty assistants, and Mr. Moorhead in Sienna.⁵⁵ When the Free Italian Church was organized, more than one half of the thirty-three separate churches which were represented in its first General Assembly in the fall of 1871 owed their existence in whole or in part to the society.⁵⁶

In 1872 workers were stationed at the following places: Bassignana, Alluvione, Brescia, Carrara, Como, Genoa, Milan, Poggio Mirteto, Terni, Porto Ferraio, San Giovanni Pellice, San Mauro Torinese, Livorno Vercellese, Treviglio, Carravagio, Treviso, Udine, Verona, Foriano della Chiana, and at other points in Italy.⁵⁷ The society's regular appropriations to the work of evangelization ceased in 1873. At that time twelve stations, chiefly in Northern Italy, were under the care of the Evangelization Committee of the Free Christian Church of Italy. The total appropriations amounted to more than \$180,000.⁵⁸

The participation of the American and Foreign Union did not cease at this time, but was continued for several years in behalf of both the Waldensian Church and the Free Church of Italy. In 1879 the society was made the depositary of a legacy by James Seymour, of Auburn, New York. This money was administered by Professor Henry Martyn Baird, historian of the Huguenots, who transmitted the funds for the Normal School of Torre Pellice, which "commended itself to the judgement of our Waldensian friends as best corresponding to the intentions of the testator." For a few years the interest of the fund was forwarded, and later the principal, amounting to five thousand dollars, was remitted, "under a pledge that the latter shall be sacredly kept as a fund for this special object."⁵⁹

In 1884 *The Christian World* ceased publication. In the last numbers of this organ references are made to the society's work in Italy. But it is evident that American interest was waning, for, in reference to the schools of the Free Italian Church, the Reverend John R. McDougall, one-time pastor of the Scotch Church of Florence, stated that for 1883 the income for that cause was "considerably less" so that three thousands francs had to be taken from the evangelization fund. The

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, March, 1883, p. 72.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, supplement for March, 1872, pp. 97-104.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, March, 1883, p. 72.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

staff of teachers had been reduced in Rome and extension of the work in other places had been prevented.⁶⁰

The Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern Presbyterian) also participated in the work of evangelization in Italy. In 1867 it sent a missionary to work in Italy in the person of Miss Christina Ronzone, a native of Milan, who had been for several years a resident of South Carolina and a member of the Presbyterian Church. She sailed in August to open a Protestant school in Naples. She worked under the general direction of the Venerable Table, yet derived her support from the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.⁶¹ She remained in Italy for many years. "She was cordially received on her arrival there, not only by the Waldensian brethren, but by other missionaries on the ground."⁶² A Scottish lady provided the means of support for her school for two years.⁶³ Miss Ronzone served as head of the institution for two years. On finding that "the people of Naples did not seem fully prepared to patronize Protestant schools,"⁶⁴ she transferred her efforts to Bordighiera. In 1872 the school was moved to St. Remo, but Miss Ronzone preferred to open a day school in Milan. Here she labored for many years, being "in more immediate connection with the Waldensian station at Milan."⁶⁵ In 1874 fifteen children were placed in her care. Through her efforts "a number of women of the Roman Catholic Church" became frequent attendants upon the preaching of one of the Waldensian pastors, a Mr. Turin.⁶⁶ The Executive Committee of Foreign Missions paid annually sums up to one thousand dollars to support the work. During the 1880's an additional teacher was employed. In 1889 there were two missionaries at the station, with forty pupils enrolled in the school.⁶⁷

In 1878 the Southern Presbyterian Church received a special appeal from the Waldensian Church in behalf of its pastors. The Committee on Correspondence recommended to the General Assembly that it "extend its heartiest sympathies to this ancient and impoverished church," and that all those who could do so should send money to the Reverend G. D. Matthews in New York, agent of the Presbyterian Council, to be sent to the proper authorities in Italy.⁶⁸ In addition to the sum of \$550.00 sent to Miss Ronzone, the amount of \$35.50, known

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXV, 111.

⁶¹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, II, 161.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, III, 362.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 731.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 291.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 554.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 552.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 625.

as the Waldensian Fund, was appropriated that year by the Presbyterian Church in the United States.⁶⁹

In 1879 Pastor J. D. Turin of the Waldensian Church was sent to the United States. He attended the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which was held in Saratoga Springs, New York. The Assembly passed a special resolution, acknowledging his presence and commending him and his work to the sympathies of the people of the Presbyterian Church.⁷⁰ Turin later visited the newly established Waldensian colony in Barry County, Missouri.⁷¹

The next year a further appeal for aid was made in behalf of the Waldensian Church. At the meetings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, which were held in Philadelphia, a report was read by Dr. William G. Blaikie, of Edinburgh, in which was outlined a plan for raising the salaries of the Waldensian pastors and professors. Their income was inadequate, being only \$300 a year. It was proposed to raise this sum to \$500. The total amount required was at most \$60,000. In Scotland, £5,000 had already been raised. Dr. Lang, of Glasgow, told the Council that he hoped America would raise \$30,000, or six dollars a Presbyterian congregation. Dr. Prime, of New York, one of the presidents of the Council, declared that the proposition would be referred to the churches. Later he reported that a pledge of \$100 had been received to inaugurate the fund from the Honorable William E. Dodge, of New York City.⁷²

Professor Emilio Comba of the Waldensian Theological Seminary was present and read a paper on "The Church in Italy," but he did not speak in behalf of the pastors' aid fund.⁷³ The Council "appointed a special committee to lay before the churches of America the wants of the pastors of the Waldensian churches of the Valleys of Piedmont and Northern Italy."⁷⁴

The results of this campaign were announced at the Third General Council of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, which met in Belfast in 1884. Thirteen thousand pounds had been raised by the Alliance's Committee on Work on the

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 66.

⁷⁰ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1879).

⁷¹ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, Nov. 10, 1898, p. 364. See p. 63, above.

⁷² *Report of Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance* (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Publishing Co., 1880), pp. 730-740.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 851-862. See *Philadelphia Press*, Oct. 2, 1880.

⁷⁴ Strong, *A Brief Sketch of the Waldenses*, p. 177.

European Continent.⁷⁵ Of this sum, £2,241 4s. 9d. had been secured by the American committee and turned over to the Edinburgh committee.⁷⁶

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the Committee of Evangelization of the Waldensian Church often sent representatives to the United States to collect funds. These delegates were usually welcomed at the assemblies of the Northern Presbyterian Church. In 1889 came Dr. Matteo Prochet, chairman of the committee, and Dr. C. A. Tron, who later led the first colonists to Burke County, North Carolina. That year the Presbyterian Church sent three delegates to take part in the bicentenary celebration of the Glorious Return. In 1891 the Reverend Luigi Angelini, the organizer of the Angelini societies, represented the Waldensian Church in America. Dr. Teofilo Gay came in 1892, serving as delegate to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. As has been seen above, it was during his visit to America that he went to Morganton, North Carolina, to look over the property offered for colonization purposes.⁷⁷ In 1893 Dr. Prochet came again to the United States and traveled widely in the interests of the committee. The following year Dr. C. A. Tron returned to America on a special mission for the committee. At that time he visited the colony at Val-dese, assuming again the temporary presidency of the corporation.⁷⁸

That the efforts of these representatives were fruitful is shown in a report, *The Waldensian Church and Her Work of Evangelization in Italy*, in which six pages are devoted to a list of American donors for the year 1894. The gifts totaled 57,066.41 lire.⁷⁹ In 1895 the Reverend Francisco Rostan came to America as a delegate to the General Assembly. During that year Dr. Prochet published a booklet, *Italy and the Valdenses*, in which he listed seventeen American contributors to the work of evangelization in Italy, including Mr. John Wanamaker, of Philadelphia, and Mrs. William Thaw, of Pittsburgh.⁸⁰

Since the inclusion of the work of the Committee of Evangelization in the general program of the Waldensian Church, delegates of the Waldensian Church have frequently visited the United States. Some

⁷⁵ *Minutes and Proceedings of the Third General Council of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System* (Belfast, 1884), pp. 241-246, 214-216.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁷⁷ See p. 106, above.

⁷⁸ This and much of the following information concerning the delegates from the Waldensian Church was compiled by the Reverend R. W. Anthony. See letter of March 7, 1940.

⁷⁹ Torre Pellice: Tipografia Alpina, 1894.

⁸⁰ Rome: Tipografia Popolare, 1895.

have come to attend the General Assembly, others to visit their Waldensian friends. The Waldensian Church has often appointed representatives living in America to attend the assemblies of the Presbyterian Church as its fraternal delegate. In 1906 the Reverend Antonio Arregghi, of New York, served as delegate to the General Assembly. The following year the Reverend Alberto Costabel, of Italy, attended the General Assembly. The Reverend Professor Alberto Clot, of New York, was the representative in 1910 and 1911. The General Assembly of 1911 approved a project to raise one hundred thousand dollars for the churches in Italy, but this plan was never carried out. The Reverend Henry C. Minton, of Trenton, New Jersey, and Professor Alberto Clot, of New York, were fraternal delegates to the General Assemblies of 1912 and 1913. In 1913 Professor David Bosio, of Rome, was sent to the United States. He traveled widely, visiting the Waldensian groups in Monett, Missouri, and in Utah, and the scattered Waldenses in California.⁸¹ Dr. H. B. Smith, now of Los Angeles, went as delegate to the Waldensian Synod and reported to the following session of the General Assembly. Professor Alberto Clot represented the Waldensian Church again at the General Assemblies of 1915 and 1916. The next deputy was Dr. Ernesto Giampiccoli, Moderator, who was delegate to the General Assembly of 1919. Chaplain Éli Bertalot served in 1920. The Reverend Tertius Van Dyke was named in 1921. In 1922 the Reverend Joseph Brunn, of New York, was sent as delegate to the Waldensian Synod. In 1923 Elder Fred S. Goodman and Dr. William P. Merrill attended the Waldensian Synod. In 1925 Guido Comba, pastor of the church of Pomaretto, represented his Church at several meetings in the United States. He attended the congress of all the missionary societies of the English language, which was held in Washington, D. C. President Calvin Coolidge opened this congress with "an eloquent and profoundly Christian discourse."⁸² Comba was also present at the meetings of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches Throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System, which were held in Richmond, Virginia, in February. He was enrolled as a corresponding member and spoke on the work of the Waldensian Church.⁸³ From Richmond he went to Valdese, where he remained one day. There he spoke to the congregation on the progress and the difficulties of the work in Italy. A collection of seventy-five dollars

⁸¹ *L'Écho des Vallées*, 1913-1914. See letters to author from Professor Bosio, April 20 and May 24, 1939.

⁸² *L'Écho des Vallées*, July 10, 1925, p. 2.

⁸³ *Minutes of the Executive Commission of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches Throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System, Western Section*, Feb., 1925.

was taken for the cause. He then returned to New York, whence he went on official duty to Boston, Rochester, Chicago, and several large Western cities.⁸⁴ In 1926 Elder Fred S. Goodman represented the Waldensian Church at the General Assembly, which sent a message to the moderator, as follows: "The General Assembly rejoices in the evidences of the Lord's blessing on its work of Christian Education and evangelism, especially in the mission fields of Apulia and Sicily."⁸⁵ The same body named in 1928 the Reverend Joseph Brunn of the Broome Street Tabernacle of New York City as its delegate to the Waldensian Synod and bade him deliver "congratulations on the missionary work in Sicily and the increasing good will on the part of the Italian government toward the Waldensian Church."⁸⁶ In 1930 Paolo Bosio, pastor of the Waldensian Church of Rome, attended the General Assembly held in St. Paul, Minnesota, and addressed the gathering. The following year Pastor Guido Miegge of the church of Riclaretto acted as fraternal delegate to the General Assembly in Pittsburgh. In 1932 the General Assembly sent a fraternal message to Moderator V. Alberto Costabel, congratulating the Waldensian Church on its celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the Synod of Cianforan, "where their fathers accepted the Reformation Movement of Geneva, added to it the mountain stream of Waldensian witness, and provided for the translation of the Bible into the language of the people."⁸⁷ The Reverend Joseph Brunn attended the General Assembly as Waldensian delegate and was named to attend the Waldensian Synod the following year. In 1934 the Reverend Domenico A. Porfirio, of Rochester, was appointed delegate to the Waldensian Synod. In 1935 the Reverend Paul G. Warren, of New York City, represented the Waldensian Church at the General Assembly and nominated the Reverend Gaetano Lisi, of New York, to carry fraternal greetings to the Waldensian Synod. In 1936 the Reverend Robert W. Anthony, General Secretary of the American Waldensian Aid Society, was delegate to the General Assembly, and the following year he represented the Presbyterian Church at the Waldensian Synod. In 1937, 1938, and 1939 the following served as delegates to the General Assembly: the Reverend Ernesto Merlanti, of Cincinnati; the Reverend Minot C. Morgan, D.D., President of the American Waldensian Aid Society; and the Reverend Paul C. Warren. In 1939 the General Assembly named

⁸⁴ *L'Écho des Vallées*, July 10, 1925, p. 2.

⁸⁵ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1923), p. 191.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* (1928), p. 193.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* (1932), p. 44.

the Reverend Joseph Brunn to take part in the pilgrimage of the Waldensian Church to Germany and in the celebration in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Glorious Return. Brunn also attended the Waldensian Synod held in Torre Pellice during the first week in September. Because of the outbreak of war all the other foreign delegates returned to their own countries, leaving the American representative the only foreigner to take part in the Synod.

In 1940 fraternal delegates from the Waldensian Church of Italy were received by several American bodies, including the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, the General Council of the Congregational Church, and the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. All of these assemblages returned greetings to the Waldensian Church.⁸⁸

The Southern Presbyterian Church has often exchanged delegates with the Waldensian Church. Dr. Alberto Clot frequently attended the General Assembly. In 1929 the Reverend Paolo Bosio, of Rome, addressed the General Assembly in Montreat, North Carolina.⁸⁹ In 1938 the Reverend James H. Caligan, pastor of the Valdese Presbyterian Church, was appointed fraternal delegate to the Waldensian Synod.⁹⁰ In 1940 the Reverend Sylvan S. Poet, of Valdese, represented the Waldensian Church at the General Assembly held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in May.

At about the beginning of the present century the work of soliciting funds for the work of the Waldensian Church became centralized and organized through the efforts of Signor Luigi Angelini and his wife. Formerly a Catholic priest, he became converted to Protestantism and started what was known as the Angelini Mission in Forano Sabino. A church building was erected, in whose construction and maintenance many American friends aided. To raise funds in America for Angelini's support, the National Angelini Society was organized January 8, 1896. Several local societies served as auxiliaries of the national society. The deed of the property in Forano Sabino was in the hands of prominent men, most of them in New York City, who represented the advisory board and the trustees of the property.⁹¹ Later the Angelinis came to America and aided in the formation of these societies. They received

⁸⁸ Letter from the Reverend R. W. Anthony to author, July 17, 1940.

⁸⁹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (1929), p. 35.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* (1938), p. 54.

⁹¹ The Reverend George S. Bishop, *The Angelini Mission, an Address Delivered before the Angelini Society of Newark, New Jersey, December 2d, 1896.*

aid from American pastors, especially the Reverend Drs. Howard Crosby and George Alexander, of New York City. On April 1, 1901, the Waldensian Society of the City of New York was organized in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. The first president of the society was the Right Reverend David H. Greer, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York.⁹² By April 1, 1904, thirteen additional Waldensian societies had been formed through the efforts of the New York group and the Angelinis. They were located in Boston, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Harrisburg, Meriden, New Brunswick, Philadelphia, Rochester, Scranton, Trenton, and Worcester.

Their successor was the American Waldensian Aid Society, which was incorporated in May, 1906. The Right Reverend D. H. Greer was its first president. There were thirty societies in many American cities. Through the years thirty-nine societies have been formed in the United States and Canada, and unorganized groups of interested people in eight other cities. The function of the Society is clearly stated in the Articles of Incorporation, as follows: "The particular objects for which this corporation is formed are: To collect funds and apply the same to the aid of the Waldensian Church in Italy, and elsewhere in its evangelistic, institutional and educational work . . . and to arouse and maintain interest throughout the United States in the work of the said Church and otherwise to aid the said Waldensian Church."⁹³

On the death of Bishop Greer in 1919, his successor to the bishopric, the Right Reverend Charles Sumner Burch, D.D., became president of the Society. He died on December 20, 1920, and was followed by the Reverend Cornelius Woelfkin, D.D., pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church. He resigned in 1925, and Gilbert Colgate was elected president. He was succeeded in 1930 by the Reverend Minot C. Morgan, D.D., who still holds the office.

Many distinguished names of Christian leaders in the United States and Canada are found among the directors and contributors of the Society. The greatest individual benefactor was the late Mrs. John S. Kennedy, of New York. Through her generosity a revised Italian translation of the Bible was made and published by a committee of which Dr. Giovanni Luzzi, Professor in the Waldensian Theological Seminary in Florence and author of *The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy*, was chairman. In 1912 she established in the Presbyterian

⁹² This and subsequent data were furnished by the Reverend R. W. Anthony, General Secretary of the American Waldensian Aid Society.

⁹³ *Certificate of Incorporation and By-Laws* (New York: American Waldensian Aid Society, n. d.), p. 1.

Board of Foreign Missions the Henrietta Baker Fund, totaling fifty-six thousand dollars, the income of which should be paid semiannually to the American Waldensian Aid Society for the benefit of the Waldensian Theological Seminary. Mrs. Kennedy also gave the funds for the erection of the Cornelius Baker Memorial Church (Waldensian) on the Piazza Cavour in Rome, and the Waldensian Church at Palermo. The Waldensian Theological Seminary in Rome was also a gift of Mrs. Kennedy. In her will she left one hundred thousand dollars to the Venerable Table without restrictions. Other outstanding benefactors of the American Waldensian Aid Society are Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Colgate; Mr. Charles Stillman, of New York; and Mr. William A. Brown, of Philadelphia. A former treasurer of the Society, Mrs. Harlan G. Mendenhall, furnished the funds for the building of the Waldensian Church of Pescolanciano. Mrs. F. T. Ranney, of Detroit, gave an addition to the Home for the Aged at San Germano. The Society has sent the money for the refectory of the Waldensian college in Torre Pellice, and for the endowment of the teachers' training course of that institution.

For many years the Society maintained an immigration bureau under the direction of the Reverend Alberto Clot. This service helped care for the large number of Italian immigrants who arrived in New York. It distributed religious literature and information about America to Italian emigrants before they left Italy and followed them up in America, trying to get them to affiliate with some Protestant church. To the Protestant converts who returned to Italy it gave a copy of the Bible and a letter to some evangelical church.⁹⁴

During the World War unusually large gifts were sent to Italy to make up for the loss of contributions from England, France, and other European countries. After the United States entered the struggle the Society sent large sums to aid the work among the Protestant soldiers of the Italian Army. Immediately following the war, the Society sent its largest annual contribution to Italy, amounting to \$73,464.

The Society at times has maintained a staff of four secretaries in the United States. Several delegates from Italy have spoken throughout the country under its auspices. From 1918 to 1923 it published a magazine, *Sempre Avanti*. Frequent bulletins and newsletters have been distributed. Many visitors to Italy have been supplied with letters of introduction through which they have been put in touch with the work abroad. The Society serves as a liaison group in North America,

⁹⁴ Enrico Sartorio, *A Brief History of the Waldensians* (New York, 1921), p. 14.

supplying a means of interchurch fellowship and friendship between members of Protestant Italian churches and the older Protestant churches. It is an agency for promoting understanding between European and North American Protestant Christianity. It maintains an office in the Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. The Reverend Robert W. Anthony served as general secretary until December 31, 1940.

The Society has had several recent generous bequests. In 1939 Charles F. Pope bequeathed it twenty thousand dollars, which is held in trust by the Fifth Avenue Bank of New York. The income is sent to the American Waldensian Aid Society. In 1940 Mrs. F. T. Ranney, of Detroit, left \$39,441.61, of which amount \$5,931.26 is to be used at the sole discretion of the Society for the benefit of the Asilio per Vecchi of San Germano Chisone. The balance of the bequest was left to the Society without restrictions. On April 17, 1940, the Society sent to the treasurer of the Venerable Table the sum of \$2,500, a bequest of Mrs. Amy Hope Boville for the use of the Waldensian Theological Seminary in Rome. It also sent in 1940 a bequest of \$500 from the estate of Miss Helen Childs, of Washington, D. C.⁹⁵ For the year 1939, the sum of \$10,631.06 was collected by twenty-nine branches of the Society. Contributions of \$1,562.13 were made to the New York office, making a total of \$12,193.19.⁹⁶

The American Waldensian Aid Society was admitted to membership in the Foreign Missions Conference of North America at its meeting of June 10-13, 1940.⁹⁷ In 1940 the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America renewed its support of the Waldensian Church of Italy by the designation of two thousand dollars of its appropriation for work in Europe for its missionary activities. This amount was turned over to the treasurer of the American Waldensian Aid Society for forwarding to Italy.⁹⁸

The Waldensian congregations of America have been generous givers to the work of the Mother Church. Frequent contributions were made, especially in the earlier years, by the Waldenses of Barry County, Missouri, and Valdese. In 1889 the Waldenses of Wolf Ridge, Texas, raised a contribution to send to Italy on the occasion of the bicentenary celebration of the Glorious Return.⁹⁹ The Valdese Presbyterian

⁹⁵ Letter of R. W. Anthony to author, Aug. 3, 1940.

⁹⁶ *Report of the American Waldensian Aid Society* (1939), p. 9.

⁹⁷ Letter from Dr. Leslie B. Moss to the Reverend R. W. Anthony, June 28, 1940.

⁹⁸ Letter from the Reverend R. W. Anthony to author, July 17, 1940.

⁹⁹ *L'Écho des Vallées Vaudoises*, Jan. 19, 1898.

Church was unusually faithful during the World War. The First Waldensian Church of New York has made a contribution to the Waldensian Church of Italy every year since its foundation, even during the first years when the salary of the pastor was only one hundred dollars.¹⁰⁰

In 1924 Pastor Pietro Griglio, with the support of three other pastors of Waldensian extraction, formed the Waldensian Federation of the United States and Canada, whose chief functions were the collecting of a minimum of one dollar annually from each member of the Waldensian Church and the intensification of the work among the scattered Waldenses in North America.¹⁰¹

Mr. Griglio has carried on the work since its inception, and has been able to forward annual sums of from \$400 to \$700 to Italy. The original name, *Fédération Vaudoise des États-Unis et du Canada*, was later changed to *Lien des Vaudois*. Since the suppression of the French language in the Waldensian Church of Italy the name, *Vincolo dei Valdesi*, has been used.¹⁰² For the year 1939 the *Vincolo dei Valdesi degli Stati Uniti* collected gifts for the Mother Church, amounting to \$441.73. Of this sum, \$312 was raised in New York, \$64 in Chicago, and \$63 in Philadelphia.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Letter of Pastor Griglio to author, Dec. 14, 1939.

¹⁰¹ See *Ai Valdesi degli Stati Uniti*, March, 1924, pp. 1-4. For full details concerning the early years of this movement, see *L'Écho des Vallées*, LXI, Nos. 12, 15, 23, 24, 27, 32, 40, and LXII, Nos. 24, 43, etc.

¹⁰² This organization has frequently forwarded sums received from Italian and French Protestant churches.

¹⁰³ *L'Eco delle Valli Valdesi*, LXXVI (March 8, 1940).

CHAPTER XIII

MUSIC AND LITERATURE

Although American authors did not begin to occupy themselves with the Waldenses until the nineteenth century, a piece of music of the Waldensian Church came to America with the Pilgrim Fathers. A chorale on Psalm LXXIV, translated into French by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, was set to music by Claude Goudimel, who perished in Lyons during the St. Bartholomew Massacre of August 27-28, 1572. It was brought to America in 1620 in the *Ainsworth Psalter*.¹ This psalm, now known as "The Hymn of the Waldensian Exile,"² was sung by the Waldenses when they arrived in Geneva as exiles in 1687, and in 1689, when, after ten days of travel, they "gloriously" returned to their valleys on August 26.

Except for a few scattered references to the Waldenses to be found in American newspapers of the eighteenth century, the earliest mention of them seems to be in the American edition of the London *Christian Observer*. This periodical was reprinted in Boston during the early decades of the nineteenth century. It contains several articles dealing with the interest in the Waldenses of the English people. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been active in their behalf during the previous century,³ was still engaged in their relief.⁴

A like interest on the part of American Protestants in the evangelical Christians of Italy is evidenced by the many volumes on Waldensian history which were printed in America during the early years of the past century. In 1824 S. H. Cone of New York printed the first American edition from the fourth London edition of the Reverend William Jones's *The History of the Christian Church from the Birth of Christ to the Eighteenth Century, Including the Account of the Waldenses and Albigenses*.⁵ The second volume of this work, consisting of four hundred and ninety-two pages, is devoted to the Waldenses. Five years later the American Sunday School Union published a revised

¹ New York: American Waldensian Aid Society, 1939.

² Helen A. and Clarence Dickinson, *Excursions in Musical History* (New York: H. W. Gray Co., 1917), pp. 121-123.

³ See p. 29, above.

⁴ *The Christian Observer*, Boston, Thomas B. Wait, XIX, 874; XXV, 89, 781.

⁵ New York: S. H. Cone, 1824.

edition of *History of the Waldenses from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* "by the author of the lives of Wycliffe, Huss, Jerome, etc."⁶ In 1843 a translation of Jean Paul Perrin's *Histoire des Vaudois* (Geneva, 1619) appeared in New York under the title *History of the Old Waldenses Anterior to the Reformation, with Illustrative Notes from Modern Historians and Theologians*.⁷ The same material was presented four years later in a comprehensive volume, prepared by Dr. Robert Baird, entitled *History of the Ancient Christians Inhabiting the Valleys of the Alps*. This work included "The Waldenses" and "The Albigenses" by Perrin, and "The Vaudois" by Dr. Bray. Dr. Baird contributed an "Essay on Their Present Condition."⁸ In 1849 a translation of Antoine Monastier's *Histoire de l'Église Vaudoise depuis son Origine* (Toulouse, 1847) was published in New York, as a revision of the London edition.⁹

The most important American original work of this period was Dr. Robert Baird's *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy*, which appeared in 1845. The third part of this study bore the title, "The History, Present State, and Prospects of the Waldenses."¹⁰ In 1829 this Presbyterian clergyman, a graduate of Washington and Jefferson College and of Princeton Theological Seminary, became the general agent of the American Sunday School Union. In 1834 the French Association, which desired to aid the Protestant churches in France, sent Dr. Baird to Paris as its agent. He became a vigorous leader of the temperance movement in Europe, writing in 1836 his *Histoire des Sociétés de Tempérance des États-Unis*, which was translated into Swedish and German, and making three tours in the interest of temperance in the countries of northern Europe. Some years later the French Association became The Foreign Evangelical Society, and still later The American and Foreign Christian Union. Dr. Baird remained for many years in service as agent of these organizations, crossing the Atlantic nine times and traveling more than three hundred thousand miles. He was the author of seven books, of which two were in French. A second edition of his *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy* was printed in 1847.¹¹

Dr. Baird refers to the Waldenses repeatedly in the earlier divisions

⁶ Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1829.

⁷ New York: Mason and Co., 1847.

⁸ Philadelphia: Griffith and Simon, 1843.

⁹ *A History of the Vaudois Church from Its Origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont to the Present Day* (New York: Lane and Scott, 1849).

¹⁰ *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy, Including a Notice of the Origin, History, and Present State of the Waldenses* (Boston: Benjamin Perkins and Co., 1845).

¹¹ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Scribners, 1928), I, 511.

of his work. The one which deals solely with the Waldenses gives a clear view of the valleys, the people, and their history. Like the other writers of his time, he accepts the theory of the very early origin of the sect. He visited the valleys three times, once in the latter part of May, 1837, and again during the summers of 1843 and 1852. He became well acquainted with the leaders of the Waldensian Church and met General Beckwith, the great benefactor and founder of schools for the Waldenses, who, in 1819, had traveled widely in America and had lived several months in Baltimore. After giving a useful study of the Waldenses, their manners, morals, manner of conducting worship, liturgy, and doctrines, Dr. Baird brought his book to an end with the following original lines:

THE WALDENSES

God's eye was on you, blest and happy race!
 God's hand was with you, holy men and true!
 No common kindness smiled upon His face:
 No common love was testified to you.
 In your rude homes His presence oft ye knew;
 And from the quiet of your Valleys driven,
 The rocks that glorious martyrdom did view,
 That sealed the witness which your lives had given,
 And changed the woes of earth for all the bliss of Heaven.

And these are they, who, through great tribulation,
 Have washed their garments white in the Lamb's blood:
 Who offer at the throne the heart's oblation,
 Made glad forever by the love of God.
 Of these earth was not worthy; though they trod
 The lowly paths of life, and wandered o'er
 Their dreary rocks, 'neath persecution's rod,
 Yet Thou, whose praise they were created for,
 Hast made them priests and kings to God, forevermore.¹²

Dr. Baird kept up a lively interest in the Waldenses until his death in 1863. He contributed many articles on them to *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, using much of the material already printed in his history. These articles in the first volume of the above-mentioned journal were usually accompanied by engravings of Waldensian scenes.

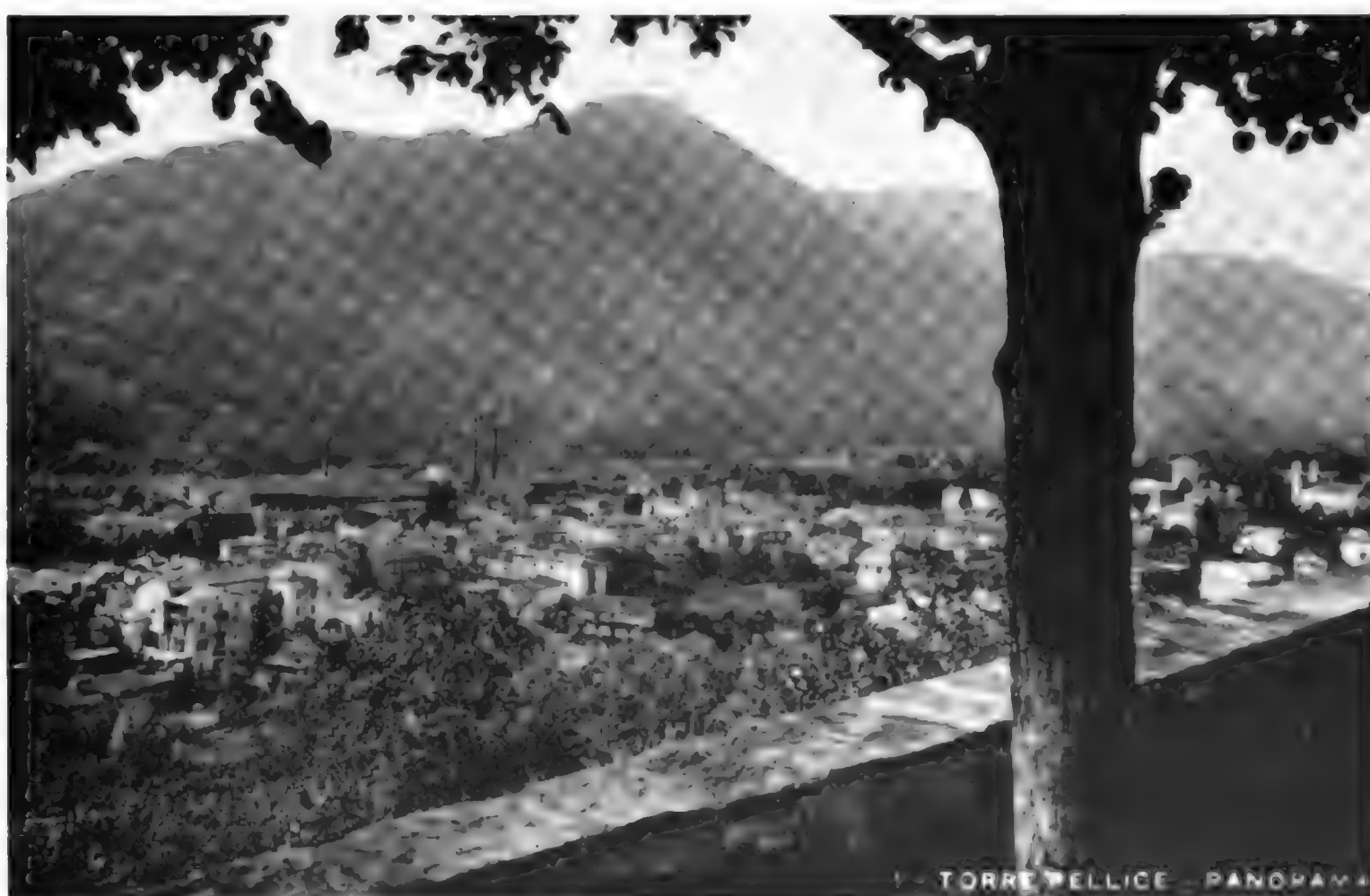
In *The American Protestant Magazine*, official organ of the American Protestant Society and predecessor of *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, several articles are devoted to the Waldenses and their history. Some of these are original, others are extracts from other works.¹³

¹² Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

¹³ I, Nos. 4 and 6, etc.



Monte Viso, the highest peak of the Waldensian country



Torre Pellice

The year of the first edition of Dr. Baird's *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy* there appeared a volume by the Reverend Joseph F. Berg, D.D., entitled *The Old Paths; or, A Sketch of the Order and Discipline of the Reformed Church before the Reformation, as Maintained by the Waldenses prior to that Epoch, and by the Church of the Palatinate in the Sixteenth Century*.¹⁴ Dr. Berg is remembered for his vigorous tirades against John Williamson Nevin in the controversies which raged at this time. Dr. Nevin had published in 1843 his famous tract, *The Anxious Bench*, which provoked a remarkable and serious controversy in the German Reformed Church and led to what has been called the "Mercersburg Theology."¹⁵ Some of the students at the Mercersburg Theological Seminary, where Dr. Nevin was professor as well as president of Marshall College, became Catholics. "Dr. Berg was an uncompromising enemy of Popery"¹⁶ and would have nothing to do with this movement. He edited a quarterly magazine, "in which with masterly ability he exposed the character of that corrupt Church," and wrote several treatises exposing "the fallacy of the arguments by which Papacy and Prelacy attempt to establish an apostolical succession of universal or even Diocesan Bishops."¹⁷

At the time of writing *The Old Paths* Dr. Berg was pastor of the First German Reformed Church of Philadelphia, but in 1852 he left this church to become pastor of the Second Dutch Reformed Church of that city.¹⁸ He published on this occasion a well-known pamphlet, *Farewell Words to the German Reformed Church*, and a vindication of the same in reply to Dr. Nevin. Among his many writings were translations from Latin, German, and French, and a novel, *The Olive Branch; or, White Oak Farm*, in which he expressed his conservative ideas on slavery. In 1861 he was elected professor of didactic and polemic theology in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, where he died in 1871.

The Old Paths "does not profess to be a history of the Reformed Church," but attempts to establish proof that "every recent phase of Protestantism is a branch of the old Waldensian stem, whose roots are

¹⁴ Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1845.

¹⁵ *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (6 vols.; New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1888), I, 243 f.

¹⁶ Edward T. Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America* (4th ed.; New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1902), p. 313.

¹⁷ *The Old Paths*, p. vii.

¹⁸ Among the famous religious debates of the mid-century was that between Dr. Berg and the noted infidel, George Barker. Dr. Berg was the first to defeat Barker. So popular was he at one time that over two hundred persons applied for membership in his church.

imbedded in apostolic ground."¹⁹ Dr. Berg, who believed that "our fathers were quite as wise and experienced as their more self-complacent children," gives a sketch of the rise and progress of Christianity from the second century, claiming that "the churches of the Valleys of Piedmont were not only organized, but practically maintained the apostolical rules handed down by their fathers" from the second century until the seventh.²⁰ In the later chapters of this book the author examines the confession of faith of the Waldenses, copying much material from Perrin's *Histoire des Vaudois* (1619), and tells the story of their persecutions and dispersion. This volume is an interesting example of the polemic works produced "in the great controversy of the day" and had its importance in being one of the first American writings which acquainted the reading public with the then accepted ideas on Waldensian history.

David Benedict, in his *A General History of the Baptist Denomination* (1848), had much to say in reference to the history of the Waldenses. His material is based on William Jones's *History of the Christian Church*. Benedict stressed at considerable length the fact that the Waldenses did not originally practice infant baptism. His book records a discussion which was waged at this time between two Baptist pastors, the Reverend Mr. Cone of New York and the Reverend C. H. Hosken of Paterson, New Jersey, and the famous Presbyterian divine, Dr. W. C. Brownlee. The latter had made an attack on the reputation of William Jones, accusing him of unfairness in his quotations from Perrin and other Waldensian writers. The two gentlemen "took up the matter in earnest to exculpate this distinguished Baptist historian from the charges brought against him" by Dr. Brownlee.²¹

The first American poet to find inspiration in Waldensian history was John Greenleaf Whittier. During his early years of literary activity Whittier was, in 1830 and 1831, for a year and a half editor of the *New England Weekly Review* of Hartford. Of over forty poems which he wrote during this period he preserved but three in the complete editions of his works.²² Among them was "The Vaudois Teacher," which appeared in the *New England Weekly Review* on April 25, 1831, signed "J. G. W."²³ This poem, later translated into

¹⁹ *The Old Paths*, pp. vii-xi.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-26.

²¹ David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York: Lewis Colby and Co., 1848), pp. 21-44. This argument was treated in the *Baptist Advocate* of 1843.

²² W. J. Linton, *Life of Whittier* (London: Walter Scott, Ltd., 1893), p. 58.

²³ T. F. Currier, *A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), p. 375.

French and Italian, became widely known and beloved by the Waldenses who had no knowledge of its authorship.

The poem tells of the manner in which, during the Middle Ages, the Waldensian pedlars disseminated the Word of God among the Catholics. They entered a house to display silks, jewels, and trinkets, and, after having made a sale, would tell the purchaser of a "gem which a purer lustre flings." Having aroused the interest of their listener, they would give, from the bottom of their baskets or from within their bosoms, a Bible or a New Testament.²⁴

The French version, known as "Le Colporteur Vaudois," was written by Professor G. de Felicé of the Protestant Theological Seminary of Montauban, France, and "further naturalized" by Professor Alexandre R. Vinet, who published it in his collection, *Littérature de l'Enfance, ou Choix de Morceaux à la Portée de l'Âge de 10 à 14 Ans, pris dans les différentes Branches de l'Art d'écrire, et tirés des meilleurs Écrivains français*.²⁵ Italian translations were made by Professor Giovanni Nicolini, of the Waldensian college of Torre Pellice,²⁶ and by Pastor Enrico Meille, who was also a professor at the same institution.²⁷

Professor G. de Felicé's rendition is as follows:

LE COLPORTEUR VAUDOIS

Oh, regardez, ma noble et belle dame,
Ces chaînes d'or, ces bijoux précieux.
Les voyez-vous, ces perles dont la flamme
Effacerait un éclair de vos yeux?
Voyez encore ces vêtements de soie,
Qui pourraient plaire à plus d'un souverain.
Quand près de vous un heureux sort m'envoie,
Achetez donc au pauvre pèlerin!

La noble dame, à l'âge où l'on est vaine,
Prit les bijoux, les quitta, les reprit,
Les enlaça dans ses cheveux d'ébène,
Se trouva belle, et puis elle sourit.
"Que te faut-il, vieillard? des mains d'un page
Dans un instant tu vas le recevoir.
Oh, pense à moi, si ton pèlerinage
Te reconduit auprès de ce manoir."

²⁴ J. G. Whittier, *Complete Poetical Works* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1894), p. 3.

²⁵ 11th ed.; Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1871, p. 418.

²⁶ S. T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1895), II, 607.

²⁷ Letter from Moderator Ernesto Comba to author, March 15, 1940.

Mais l'étranger, d'une voix plus austère,
 Lui dit: "Ma fille, il me reste un trésor
 Plus précieux que les biens de la terre,
 Plus éclatant que les perles et l'or.
 On voit pâlir aux clartés dont il brille
 Les diamants dont les rois sont épris.
 Quels jours heureux luiraient pour vous, ma fille,
 Si vous aviez ma *perle de grand prix*!"

"Montre-le-moi, vieillard, je t'en conjure;
 Ne puis-je pas te l'acheter aussi?"
 Et l'étranger sous son manteau de bure,
 Chercha longtemps un vieux livre noirci.
 "Ce bien," dit-il, "vaut mieux qu'une couronne,
 Nous l'appelons la *Parole de Dieu*.
 Je ne vends pas ce trésor, je le donne,
 Il est à vous: le ciel vous aide! Adieu!"

Il s'éloigna. Bientôt la noble dame
 Lut et relut le livre du Vaudois.
 La vérité pénétra dans son âme,
 Et du Sauveur elle comprit la voix;
 Puis un matin, loin des tours crénelées,
 Loin des plaisirs que le monde chérit,
 On l'aperçut dans les humbles vallées
 Où les Vaudois adoraient Jésus-Christ.

"The Vaudois Teacher" was current in England as being from the pen of Mrs. Hemans.²⁸ In 1835 it was published without name of author in *The Christian Observer* of London.²⁹ Ten years later it was printed in Dr. Robert Baird's *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy* under the title "The Vaudois Missionary."³⁰ Of it Dr. Baird, who was apparently at that time unaware of the poem's authorship, wrote: "The following beautiful verses, descriptive of this traffic of the Waldensian pedlars, were published in a valuable religious journal a few years ago."

Subsequently the poem was twice printed in *The American and Foreign Christian Union* and once in its successor, *The Christian World*. In the June, 1850, issue of the former publication the writer, who was doubtless Dr. Baird, remarked: "It is said a talented American

²⁸ Pickard, *op. cit.*, p. 609.

²⁹ *The Christian Observer*, London, Sept., 1835, No. 405, pp. 558-559. In commenting on the poem the writer said: "The writer has overstepped the author in speaking of silks and jewels, for it is not likely that these humble servants vended such costly articles, or wished to minister to the vanity or luxury of those whom they visited."

³⁰ Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

poet, Mr. J. G. Whittier of Boston, was the author of these admirable verses."⁸¹ In the June, 1853, number the poem is entitled "Waldensian Pedler Missionary." The writer states: "The following beautiful hymn . . . is said to be from the pen of Mr. Whittier, one of our American poets."⁸² It is found entitled "The Vaudois Missionary" in the September, 1864, issue of *The Christian World*, no author being named.⁸³

In 1850 it was heard in Geneva by J. G. Fletcher, an American student at the theological seminary of that city. It was a favorite poem among his fellow ministerial candidates there. Some years later he learned that Whittier was the author. He visited the poet in 1857 and told him of the great influence of his lines. Whittier was deeply moved. In 1875 Fletcher wrote to the moderator of the Waldensian Church, J. D. Charbonnier, telling of the true authorship of the poem and of the poet's pleasure at having composed the lines which had brought comfort to the Christians of the Cottian Alps. This information was announced by Charbonnier at a banquet which closed the meeting of the Waldensian Synod of 1875. The audience rose and applauded with enthusiasm the name of "Jean Greenleafy Vittier."⁸⁴

Moderator Charbonnier was instructed to write a letter of thanks to Whittier in the name of the Synod. He wrote, in part: "Dear and Honored Brother: I have recently learned . . . that you are the author of the charming little poem, 'The Vaudois Colporteur.' . . . There is not a single Vaudois who has received any education who cannot repeat from memory 'The Vaudois Colporteur' in French or in Italian. The members of the Synod of the Vaudois Church . . . unanimously voted the motion which I had the honor of proposing, viz.: That we should send a very warm Christian fraternal salutation to the author of 'The Vaudois Colporteur.' I was intrusted with the duty of conveying this salutation to you . . . expressing . . . our gratitude to you, and also our wish to receive, if possible, from yourself the original English, which is still unknown to us, of this piece of poetry, which we so justly prize."⁸⁵

Whittier replied from Amesbury on October 21, 1875, declaring that few events of his life had given him greater pleasure than the receipt of the resolution of appreciation from the Waldensian Synod. He

⁸¹ I, 224.

⁸² *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, IV, 286.

⁸³ XV, 263-264.

⁸⁴ Pickard, *op. cit.*, pp. 606-607. J. G. Fletcher gives a good account of his connection with the poem and prints it in the *Friends Intelligencer*, XXXVI (Sept. 27, 1878), 508-509.

⁸⁵ Pickard, *op. cit.*, pp. 606-607. See T. W. Higginson, *John Greenleaf Whittier* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), p. 106.

added: "I shall keep this letter amongst my most precious remembrances, and it will be a joy to me to know that in your distant country, and in those sanctuaries of the Alps, consecrated by such precious and holy memories, there are Christians, men and women, who think of me with kindness, and give me a place in their prayers. May the dear Lord and Father of us all keep you always under His protection."³⁶

Of the Italian versions of the poem the following, written by Professor Enrico Meille on January 3, 1893, is most esteemed by the Waldenses.³⁷

IL COLPORTORE VALDESE

(Imitate da Whittier)

"Mira, o bella Signora, queste vesti,
 Son novissime e rare:
 E' la trama più ricca ch' India vanti . . .
 Degna d'un re non pare?
 Mie perle hanno il riflesso del tuo seno
 Raggiante come aurora;
 Le portai per un lungo, aspro cammino;
 Ne compri, o mia Signora?"

La fanciulla sorrise colle labbra,
 Rise cogli occhi neri
 E colle brune ciocche; indi alle gioie
 Volse i vani pensieri.
 Scelse; il denaro diede al mercatante,
 Ed ilare si mosse . . .
 "Resta," disse il vegliardo con tal voce
 Che il core le percosse.

"Una perla, o Signora, ancor mi resta
 Che spande più chiarore
 Che pietra adamantina folgorante,
 Di regio serto onore.
 Perla mirabil d'infinito prezzol
 La sua virtù divina
 Come lampa consola e guida e salva
 Chi in tenebre cammina."

La fanciulla guardava al bronzeo specchio
 Che il volto riflettea,
 Occhi maliardi, eburnea fronte e file
 Di gemme, e sorridea.

³⁶ Pickard, *op. cit.*, pp. 608-609.

³⁷ Letter from the Reverend Ernesto Comba, Moderator of the Waldensian Church of Italy, to author, March 15, 1940.

"Mostrami," disse alfin, "questa tua perla
 Che manca al mio tesoro;
 Dinne il prezzo; e il mio paggio incontanente
 Ti donerà dell' oro."

Il vecchio asserenò la fronte e un libro
 Sdrucito, senza vanto
 Di fregi, d'oro e perle, ei trasse lento
 Cauto, dall' ampio manto.
 "Ecco," ei disse, "la perla di valore,
 Ecco il tesoro mio!
 Tel dono, leggi . . . oro non voglio . . . il verbo
 Non vendo del mio Dio!"

Il viaggio seguitava il pellegrino,
 Ma il dono che impartiva
 Alla nobil fanciulla, nel suo seno
 Opra santa compiva.
 Dagli idoli superbi si volgeva
 Di Cristo all' umiltade,
 E a Lui donava il cor, nell' ora bella
 Della fiorente etade.

Lasciò poi le castella ove imperava
 Fede vana, spietata . . .
 Lasciò donzelle e paggi e cavalieri
 E insin la madre amata.
 Nelle Valli fuggì, sul sacro suolo,
 Dei liberi il desìo
 Ove chi ha fame e soffre e muore, esulta
 Nel grande amor di Dio!

In 1850 Mary Jane Windle, of Wilmington, Delaware, began to publish in collections some of her tales which had previously appeared in "the chief monthly magazines of this country," where they had been extended a favor whose "extent and duration" had been unexpected. The first edition was entitled *Truth and Fancy*. By 1852 there were three editions of the collected stories which now bore the title *A Legend of the Waldenses, and Other Tales*.⁸⁸ If the readers of "A Legend of the Waldenses" had hoped to find there authoritative information on the Waldensian people and their Church they were doomed to disappointment, for, in spite of the title, nothing in the story concerns the Waldenses. The authoress did not even understand the meaning of the word "Waldenses," for she wrote that the name

⁸⁸ Philadelphia: J. W. Moore, 1852.

of her heroine "is still held in reverence by the dwellers of the Waldenses," as if she thought that the term designated the mountains or the valleys of Piedmont. The story is a sugary narrative of little literary merit. It concerns a noble girl of Dauphiny, who, in 1523, left France with a party of Huguenot refugees for "the Valley of Piedmont." There a settlement was established, where saintly Alicia labored until she fell a victim of "consumption." She died in the arms of her father, who had hastened from France and who forgave her for having brought disgrace upon the family name "by communion with a set of ignoble heretics."³⁹

An important volume devoted solely to the Waldenses was issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication in 1853, the year of great interest in the Waldenses among Americans due to the visit of Dr. Revel, Moderator of the Waldensian Church, to the United States. This work, *The Waldenses, Sketches of the Evangelical Christians of the Valleys of Piedmont*, was written by William Sime, a layman who wrote many religious books and who was "the author of several useful works." It is a well-written, informative treatise of three hundred and ninety-two pages and deals with the origin, persecutions, and later history of the Waldenses, who are, according to the author, "in all essential particulars, Presbyterians."⁴⁰ This work was later republished on two occasions by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, the last edition appearing in 1912.

The visit of Dr. Revel to the Protestant churches in America was the inspiration of a poem of nine stanzas, "Lines on the Recent Appeal of the Waldenses to the American Protestant Churches in Disseminating the Gospel in Italy," by the Reverend Edward Harris. This poem was printed in *The American and Foreign Christian Union*.⁴¹

At about this time⁴² Dr. William Craig Brownlee, pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church of New York City from 1826 to his death in 1860,⁴³ published his *Sketch of the History of the Western Apostolic Churches, from Which the Roman Church Apostatized, in Two Parts*.⁴⁴ Dr. Brownlee, who was notorious for his hatred of the Roman Catholic Church and the Quakers, had published the first part,

³⁹ Miss Windle, born in Wilmington in 1825, was a frequent contributor to periodicals. See S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1874), II, 2103.

⁴⁰ P. 373.

⁴¹ IV, 331.

⁴² The book appeared after 1837, for it contains a reference to the 1837 Boston edition of Fox, *Book of Martyrs*.

⁴³ Corwin, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

⁴⁴ New York: American Protestant Society, n.d.

"The Religion of the Ancient Britains and Irish, not Roman Catholic; and the Immortal St. Patrick, vindicated from the false Charge of having been a Papist," in the form of a tract which had passed through several editions. To this he now added a second part, "The Antiquity, the Tenets, and the Sufferings in the Cause of our Blessed Redeemer, of the Albigenses and Waldenses."

This controversial treatise was first published by the American Protestant Society and contained ninety-nine pages. A later printing, called *Saint Patrick and the Western Apostolic Churches: or the Religion of the Ancient Britains and Irish, not Roman Catholic, and the Antiquity, Tenets, and Sufferings of the Albigenses and Waldenses*, was issued in 1857 by the American and Foreign Christian Union. This edition had one hundred and ninety-six pages, most of the additional material being devoted to St. Patrick and the Irish churches. "The account of the Waldenses" was "brought down to the present day."⁴⁵

Much as Dr. Joseph Berg had done in *The Old Paths*, Dr. Brownlee attempted to prove "a regular and unbroken line of succession of the pure Apostolical Church, apart from the succession of the saints who lingered in the bosom of the Papal Church in the Dark Apostate Ages."⁴⁶ Basing his writing on Gilly's *Introduction to Waldensian Researches*,⁴⁷ he told the story of the origin, "the appalling sufferings—inflicted by the ghostly tyrant of Rome, and his fanatical ravagers, the Crusaders," and the actual condition of the Waldensian people and their Church.

In 1859 appeared in the then popular Fireside Library of Robert Carter and Brothers, *The Woodcutter of Lebanon and the Exiles of Lucerna*, written by the Reverend John Ross MacDuff, D.D., of Scotland, whose books had "an immense circulation, particularly in Scotland."⁴⁸ *The Exiles of Lucerna, or the Sufferings of the Waldenses during the Persecutions of 1686* had been published in Scotland in 1851. The object of the narrative, which was "strictly historical," even though it contained some fictitious characters and events, was to "awaken an additional interest in behalf of that extraordinary race whose descendants continue at this day living witnesses for the truth in the midst of papal darkness."⁴⁹

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe spent the winter of 1859-1860 in Italy.

⁴⁵ New York, American and Foreign Christian Union, 156 Chambers Street, a few doors west of the Hudson River Rail Road Depot, 1857.

⁴⁶ Preface.

⁴⁷ London, 1831.

⁴⁸ John F. Kirk, *Supplement to Allibone's Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1891), II, 1044.

⁴⁹ New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1859, Preface.

After visiting several cities in Northern Italy she and her party established themselves in Florence. It will be recalled that in 1857 the eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Stowe had been drowned in the Connecticut River near Hanover, New Hampshire. During the years which followed this accident both parents were "distressed by inexpressible yearnings after him," and had "spiritual experiences in feeling the presence of dear Henry."⁵⁰ Mrs. Stowe, while in Florence, suffered from "a sense of utter darkness and separation, not only from him but from all spiritual communion" with her God. She made the acquaintance of a lady from Boston, "a very earnest Christian," whom the spiritualists would have regarded "as a very powerful medium," in whose apartment Mrs. Stowe received "very strong impressions from the spiritual world."⁵¹

There is no record in Mrs. Stowe's letters that she had other, more orthodox, religious experiences during this period. Literary historians have overlooked the fact that during her stay in Florence she was a frequent attendant of the Scotch Church, whose pastor was the Reverend John R. McDougall. At that time there was among American Protestants great interest in the efforts of the Waldensian Church for the evangelization of Italy. Although one cannot learn how great was Mrs. Stowe's concern in this work, the following statement by McDougall proves that she did attempt to share in it: "Through Mrs. Beecher Stowe who is a member of our congregation here we are trying to obtain for Italy a young Italian who has finished his theological studies in America. I am not aware what society she means to apply to for his support."⁵²

Edward Everett Hale is another American author who found in Waldensian history a subject for his pen. In 1873 he published a Christmas story, "In His Name," which dealt with the early days of the Poor Men of Lyons. This tale was printed and sent as a Christmas gift to the readers of *Old and New*, a monthly magazine of which Hale was the editor. A shorter version which he had told to the children in his Sunday School on Christmas Day in 1872 had also been printed in the *Ten Times One Record*. Of the evolution of his story Hale wrote: "Having thus laid out the plan of a story based on the pathetic history of the Waldenses of Lyons and the Mountains, I took occasion the next year to visit Lyons, and, by what is now a very easy route, I saw with my own eyes the country over which the priest

⁵⁰ Charles Edward Stowe, *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1890), p. 348.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, XI (May, 1860), 145-146.

passes in his critical journey. I was able at Lyons, through the courtesy of friends whom I made there, to study on the spot the local history of that earlier Reformation; and, afterwards, in preparing for the story, I acquainted myself, I may say almost personally, with the people who were about in Lyons in the year 1192, when little Felicie is supposed to have fallen sick and to have recovered."⁵³

The story concerns a child of Lyons, the daughter of Jean Waldo, imaginary brother of Peter, who became poisoned by a potion brewed by her mother. The local physician, after doing all in his power to save the girl's life, told her father that his master who was in hiding in the Brevon caves "because he cared for the Poor Men of Lyons more than the Rich Men of Lyons"⁵⁴ had an elixir which might restore the child to health. He wrote a letter summoning help and closed with the words: "For the love of Christ." At the bottom he drew a Maltese cross. A trusted messenger was asked to go on the hard journey. At first he hesitated, but at the father's words "For the love of Christ" he agreed to depart. He said that he never tarried whenever he was invoked "IN HIS NAME." He carried out his mission successfully, overcoming obstacles and avoiding dangers by the use of the phrases "For the love of Christ" and "IN HIS NAME," and of the cross of Malta. The master physician came and saved the sick girl, making frequent use of the same symbol and formulae.

After the publication of the tale Hale found in the public library of Boston an anonymous tract on the Poor Men of Lyons, in which he learned many details on the history of the times. His interest in his own story brought him into close relations with the Waldensian Church, which he learned to admire and of which he said: "That little Church, numbering but sixteen congregations, I think, in all, maintains a far larger system of missions in proportion to its numbers than is maintained by any other ecclesiastical establishment in the world."⁵⁵

Out of "In His Name" grew several organizations for religious work. The first, the Look-Up Legion, established by Miss Mary Lathbury in 1874, was based on another of Hale's stories, "Ten Times One is Ten." She used the Maltese cross as the symbol of that legion, and the other clubs of the Lend a Hand Order followed her example. It was adopted by the Reverend Mr. Oxford in his Ten Times One Club in London. Most of the societies of this nature used the Maltese cross and the letters "I.H.N." (In His Name). It became the symbol of The King's Daughters. Of the use of these Hale wrote:

⁵³ Edward Everett Hale, *Works* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1899), II, vi.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

"It has pleased me to find that a fancy of my own, connected with the little persecuted church of the Waldensians, has gone over the world."⁵⁶ He was not correct in writing that the Waldenses themselves began to use the Maltese cross as a symbol, the only known example of such use being on the cover of Sophia V. Bompiani's *A Short History of the Italian Waldenses*.

Hale kept up his interest in the Waldenses for a long time, engaging in further research on the passwords used by them. He wrote to Pastor Soulier of Valdese and told him of some passwords which he had found in an old Benedictine collection. Soulier replied that these words were "wholly forgotten in the Valleys of the Alps."⁵⁷

Hale gives the following information in reference to a possible relationship between Peter Waldo and Ralph Waldo Emerson: "Cornelius Waldo appeared in Ipswich, Massachusetts, as early as 1654. From his family descend the well-known and highly esteemed family of Waldo now in New England. The 'Yankee Plato,' Mr. Waldo Emerson, is one of the descendants of this Waldo, and after he had heard me read the story ['In His Name'] he told me that he had always hoped that they were descended from Peter Waldo of Lyons."⁵⁸

Among the early writings of the Reverend Frank Wakeley Gunsaulus, pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church of Chicago from 1887 to 1899, and the follower of Newell Dwight Hillis as pastor of the Independent Church of Chicago from 1899 to 1919, organizer of Armour Institute of Technology, of which he was president from 1893 to his death in 1921, was *Monk and Knight*, a historical study in fiction in two volumes, which appeared in 1891. Although the central figure is a Waldensian, this long work is by no means limited to the Waldenses. It is rather a study dealing with many of the prominent figures of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Because of its length, the wide scope of its subject, and the author's limitations as a novelist, this work has not enjoyed the success of some of the other writings of Dr. Gunsaulus, who produced some fourteen volumes, of which three were poetry.⁵⁹

In American encyclopedias, religious works, and magazines many articles dealing with the Waldenses have been published. Among them is that of Eugene Lawrence, who devoted about fifty pages of his voluminous *Historical Studies* to an article entitled "The Vaudois." He gives a good description of the Waldensian valleys and the

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 363 f.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁵⁹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 52.

history of the origins, persecutions, and later activities of the people. Like the other historians of the precritical period, he accepts the story of the Apostolic origin of the Church.⁶⁰ Other early articles were by George Edwin Waring, who published "The Waldenses of Today" in the *Atlantic Monthly* of November, 1879,⁶¹ and Washington Gladden, whose "Protestantism in Italy" was printed in *Scribner's Monthly* of March, 1881.⁶² Gladden, who was at that time pastor of the North Congregational Church of Springfield, Massachusetts, gives a comprehensive picture of the Protestant churches of Italy and suggests that the "Waldensian and Free Italian Churches should constitute themselves one church."

Philip Schaff, Swiss-born American theologian and church historian, devotes several pages to the Waldenses in his *History of the Christian Church*. He considers Waldo the originator of the sect.⁶³ This same author included "The Confession of the Waldenses, A.D. 1655" in his important *The Creeds of Christendom*.⁶⁴

Henry Charles Lea, in *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, devoted considerable space to the Waldenses, whom he saw, in the light of the then recent critical researches, as followers of Peter Waldo and not the descendants "from the primitive Church through the Leonistae and Claudius of Turin."⁶⁵

The fullest treatment to be found in American encyclopedias and dictionaries is in Scribner's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.⁶⁶ The Reverend Alberto Clot contributed a useful historical account of the Waldenses and a bibliography to the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*.⁶⁷ Another important study is in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.⁶⁸

During the last decade of the nineteenth century two American histories of the Waldenses appeared. The first, *A Brief Sketch of the Waldenses*, was published in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1893, by the Reverend C. H. Strong. This short history was the outgrowth of a lecture on the Waldenses given by Strong before the Synod of Kansas of the Presbyterian Church in 1880. The value of the book is not increased

⁶⁰ New York: Harpers, 1876, pp. 198-246.

⁶¹ XLIV, 643-648.

⁶² March, 1881, pp. 681-688.

⁶³ New York: Scribners, 1907, V, 493-507.

⁶⁴ 3d ed.; New York: Harper and Bros., 1877, III, 757-770.

⁶⁵ New York: Harper and Bros., 1888, I, 76 ff., 131, 319; II, 145 ff., 195 ff., 259 ff.

⁶⁶ XII, 663-673.

⁶⁷ New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1912.

⁶⁸ XV, 527-530.

by the last two chapters, which are violent diatribes against the Catholic Church.⁶⁹

The second is that of Sophia V. Bompiani, author of *Italian Explorers in America*. Mrs. Bompiani, nee van Matre, was an American woman who married an Italian lawyer, Adriano Bompiani. She and her husband were members of the Waldensian Church of Rome. She died in that city in 1913.⁷⁰ In 1897 she wrote *A Short History of the Italian Waldenses*. She brought the story down to 1889. In spite of the "documented histories of their race, written by some of their most learned professors," she refused to accept the statement that Peter Waldo was the founder of the Waldensian movement, and asserted that "the origin of the Waldenses is lost in the night of the centuries." The book contains two maps, is well illustrated, and is useful, if not altogether scientific.⁷¹

The American Waldensian Aid Society has published many newsletters and pamphlets of merit. "The Faithful Witness of the Waldenses" by the Reverend Tertius Van Dyke, a director of the society, is especially noteworthy.

There have been several American contributions to Waldensian history during the present century. In 1913 President Giovanni Luzzi, D.D., of the Waldensian Theological Seminary of Florence, published *The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy*.⁷² Five of the book's seven chapters were first delivered at Princeton University as the Students' Lectures on Missions for 1912-1913 and repeated at many other universities and seminaries in the United States. He devotes one chapter to the Waldenses, furnishing a readable, popular account of their history to the time of their emancipation. Another chapter deals with the campaign of evangelization in Italy. Dr. Luzzi is also the author of *The Waldensian Church, Her Work, Her Difficulties*, which appeared in New York in 1914.⁷³

A chapter, "The Waldensians," in Ellen Scott Davison's *Forerunners of Saint Francis*, published in 1927, is a most important treatise.⁷⁴ Miss Davison collected materials in many libraries in Europe, was

⁶⁹ Lawrence, Kansas: Boughton Publishing Co., 1893.

⁷⁰ Letter from Moderator Ernesto Comba to author, March 15, 1940.

⁷¹ There are several American works of lesser merit, many of which have been published by denominational presses. Of these the following may be mentioned: R. H. Conwell, *Joshua Gianavello*; Mrs. J. M. Wright, *Gospel in Riviera: Story of the Waldenses*; James Aitken Wylie, *History of the Waldenses*; F. E. Clark, *The Gospel in Latin Lands*.

⁷² New York: Fleming H. Revell and Co., 1913.

⁷³ New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1914.

⁷⁴ Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927.

thoroughly acquainted with the Waldensian documents and historical writings, and was equipped to prepare a scholarly, authoritative study on the early years of the Waldenses. She saw in Peter Waldo "a prophet of primitive Christianity, one who became more widely known than any of his predecessors, save possibly Arnold of Brescia," around whom and whose followers "gathered the Arnoldisti and the Humiliati of Italy, the Petrobrusians and Albigensians of France, and perhaps the Apostolics of the Rhine Valley."⁷⁵ She tells of Waldo's conversion, career, and condemnation, and the beginnings of the sect; their early missionary labors, their emphasis on poverty, their organization, and their adoption, during the thirteenth century, of the Sylvestrine legend to claim for themselves the sole right of apostolic succession.⁷⁶

In *The Scriptural Allegory in Three Parts* Dr. Daniel B. Richards of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints gives one part to the history of the Waldenses. In this same work there are in the sections dealing with the Mormon missions to the Waldensian valleys many interesting references to the life and customs of the people.

Waldensian Scenes, a Pageant by the Reverend Tertius Van Dyke, Head Master of the Gunnery School, Washington, Connecticut, is a successful attempt "to recover, through the sympathetic exercise of the imagination within the limits of historical fact, something of the religious feeling that has animated Waldensian history."⁷⁷ The five scenes of the pageant depict Peter Waldo in his home in Lyons; the early followers pursued as heretics at the beginning of the thirteenth century; the Synod of Cianforan of 1532; the conversation between Cromwell and Milton and the composing of the latter's well-known ode; and the Waldenses assembling to thank King Charles Albert for the Edict of Emancipation of 1848. This work of high literary quality has often been represented in whole or in part.

In 1939 the American Waldensian Aid Society published an important, useful Waldensian bibliography for English readers, entitled *An Annotated Reading List on the Waldenses*, prepared by Ann Augusta Esbenschade of the Library of the Yale Divinity School, under the direction of Professor Roland H. Bainton of Yale University.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Davison, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁷⁶ Sylvester was a bishop who baptized Constantine and cured him of his leprosy. To reward him the emperor offered to Sylvester the crown and dignity, and from that time the primitive sanctity was lost and the Church fell. Some of Sylvester's companions did not follow him in the new prosperity. They departed, following a life of poverty, and keeping alive the true faith until the time of Peter Waldo and his disciples, who brought it to life again (*ibid.*, pp. 271-273).

⁷⁷ New York: American Waldensian Aid Society, 1932, p. 3.

⁷⁸ New York: American Waldensian Aid Society, 1939.

Appendix

APPENDIX

I

EXTRACT FROM "A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE MALAN PIONEERS OF UTAH"*

Ours was the first family that accepted the restored Gospel in Italy. After organizing the church, Lorenzo Snow sent Elder Stenhouse to labor in Piedmont. My father met Elder Woodare [*sic*] at Latour, in January, 1851, invited him home, then sent invitations to all the village to come and hear his message. He came again next evening and preached to the same audience. At the close of the meeting, my brother, John D., applied for baptism, walked to the river, broke the ice, and was baptized that night. We kept the Elder till next day. Then those of the family of suitable age were also baptized. A few days later, a number of the neighbors also joined the church. Then a meeting was held, and after confirmation, the meeting was open to the audience. When the gifts promised the believers by the Savior were manifest my mother sang in the gift of tongues and gave the interpretation. We were all initiated into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by Elder Jabez Woodare in February, 1851. My father was the first elder ordained and my brothers, John D. and Stephen, the first priests, and our house became the mission headquarters. My brothers were appointed to labor along with the elders, and continued actively engaged in the field until we emigrated. John filled a short mission in Switzerland before emigrating to Utah in 1854.

We left our native village February, 1855, and traveled in coaches from Latour to Pignerol; from this city to Turin, the capital of Piedmont, to the town of Suza, at the foot of Mount Cenis, by railway, then up the steep Mount Cenis in a large coach placed on sleds drawn by sixteen government mules, the way being covered with perpetual snow and ice. When we arrived at the top we left the coach for about an hour and entered the hotel, and were robbed of our money. When we re-entered the coach, mother sang in the gift of tongues, which dispelled the awful gloom caused by the incident at such a time and place—about midnight. Arriving in Landsburg on the Savoy side, the coaches were taken off the sleds and we continued in coaches to Lyons, France. From that city to Paris we went by rail, hence [*sic*] to Calais, then on board a steamer to London; there again by railway to Liverpool, remaining there some time waiting for the ship *Juventa*, which sailed from Liverpool about the first of April with five hundred and seventy-three Saints in charge of William Glover, and landed in Philadelphia the fifth of May; next day by rail to Pittsburgh; then in

* Written March, 1914, in Ogden, Utah, by Emely P. Farley (Pauline Amelia Malan, born in Prassuit, September 25, 1839; died in Ogden, Utah, January 23, 1925). Hitherto unpublished. Printed with the permission of members of the family.

some steamboats down the Ohio and up the Missouri River, landing at Atchison, Kansas, five miles from Mormon Grove, the place for organizing the Saints into companies, and providing all equipments for the journey to the valleys of the Rocky Mountains. While at this grove, many of the Saints were stricken with cholera and died. The writer heard Elder Joseph Hall, who was the appointed commissary at the grove, state that from over three hundred victims, only three of that number survived, of whom my twin was one, who was attacked as severely as any but recovered—was restored by faith. While in Liverpool, President F. D. Richards promised mother that she should see all her family safe in Zion; so when my sister was stricken, my mother wondered what she had done to forfeit that blessing, for already three out of our tent had died; she sent for Elders to administer to her. Apostle John Taylor was one. After the ordinance he told mother that through her faith, she should recover, and none of the rest of the family would be stricken. He spoke in French, which was all realized despite the many incidents that happened on the way to try her faith. On account of such conditions, we did not leave Mormon Grove to cross the plains till the twenty-fifth of July.

When we were going through the Indian territories, bands of them would terrorize the company by their sudden appearance, and demanding hostage for trespassing on their domains. Then the captain would propitiate with gifts of flour, sugar, coffee, cutlery, and various other articles, thus to procure and preserve peace with them. Another cause of anxiety was the great herds of buffalo; on their transition they never deviate from their course, heed no obstacles, and are liable to go right through camp or train, as the case might be. So with treacherous Indians and the invincible buffalo, we were at any time in danger of our lives. I shall not attempt to describe the hardships, trials, and difficulties incidental of the journey, but one little incident, because it so clearly shows the efficacy of faith.

One day we had a harder walk than usual. We "twins" were very tired; so father said, "We are nearing camp, but get in." We had just got in on the back end of the wagon, when we heard mother say, "Oh, God, give me the strength of a lion." Suddenly the wagon completely capsized, going down a dugway. As our goods were left at Philadelphia, the wagon was laden with freight for the company—back end being stacked with flour. On the front wheels was a large box packed with glass and chinaware, where mother and two little ones were sitting. We were nearly smothered to death under the flour, and mother was thought to be crushed to death; but when she was rescued from her terrible position, she went about her domestic affairs as usual. The children were not hurt. After a walk of a thousand miles over the plains, often in sand and intense heat, then extreme cold, over the mountains, we arrived safely at Salt Lake City on the twentieth of October; so we were nearly nine months on our journey. Next day we resumed our journey to Ogden, located at Mount Fort. Standing on the brow of the bench on Emigration Street, and looking down into

the valley, we failed to perceive the city of Salt Lake. From that distance the little log and adobe houses appeared like boulders scattered on the surface of the ground. We found Zion a desert, but with wise leaders, patient industry, perseverance, and God's blessing, we've noticed it gradually transformed from a forbidding desert to a fertile and most desirable place to dwell upon. Since we came in the year of the grasshopper war, breadstuff was very scarce, and a hard winter followed. We suffered much from hunger and cold. In the spring of 1856 we subsisted mostly on weeds—principally nettles—and bran that had already been sifted twice. Fish was quite plentiful in Ogden River; so father made traps with willow twigs to catch fish. In the fall we gleaned our breadstuff. We threshed and separated the wheat from the chaff by hand. My father and two elder brothers worked to procure land and build a home and provide other provisions. In 1857 father was sent on a mission to Italy. On March 11, 1858, we twins were married to Isaac R. Farley, who is also a twin, in the Endowment House, Salt Lake City. We were told there that he was the first young man who took two wives. In May we went "at the general move" to evade the invasion of Johnston's army, and located on the Provo bottoms near Utah Lake. In August we returned home in time to harvest a crop of volunteer wheat. In 1869 we moved to West Weber, and I was soon appointed teacher in the R. S. and S. S. Class. In the spring of 1887 I moved to Mount Fort Ward, Ogden City, and was again appointed teacher in the R. S. and S. S. and served until the Stake and Wards were divided in 1906. On November 19, 1908, when the Eighth Ward was organized, I was again appointed teacher in the R. S. of that ward.

I am now seventy-five years of age, and through all the vicissitudes of my life I have been thankful that I was a member of the Church of Christ, and rejoice in the restored Gospel of the Son of God.

II

THE WALDENSES IN UTAH

I. *The Mormon Converts**

Bertoch, Elder John (1792), San Germano. Three sons: Daniel, James, and John, Jr. Two daughters: Antoinette and Marguerite. Although records show confusion as to dates of birth, baptism, and migration, it is probable that this family left Italy on February 7, 1854, sailed from Liverpool on the *John M. Wood*, and arrived in Utah in the Robert Campbell party on October 28, 1854. John, Jr., was a teacher. Daniel married Elva Hampton and Sarah Ann Richards and was President of 35th Quorum Seventies. James married Ann Cutcliffe, of Devonshire, was High Priest, missionary to Switzerland and Italy 1891-1893, and farmer and stock raiser.

* The principal sources for this list are *The Scriptural Allegory*, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* and information furnished by members of the Malan family.

Beus, Priest Michel (1811), Pramollo, wife Marie or Marianne Combe (1811). Five sons: James, Paul, L. P., John, Michel, Jr. Two daughters: Madeleine and Marie. Family baptized August 14, 1851; emigrated November 29, 1855. Reached Utah on September 26, 1856, in Edmund Ellsworth handcart company. James married Clarinda Hill. Paul, who married Catherine Combe and Areta Stewart, was ward teacher for eighteen years. L. P. married Mary Terry. John married Margaret Justet. Michel, Jr., married Elizabeth Ladrap. Marie married Edward Priest. Madeleine married Paul Cardon. Michel Beus was a farmer and stock raiser.

Bonnet, Priest John James (1835), Angrogna. Migrated on February 27, 1855, reached Utah in Milo Andrus party October 26, 1855. Married Ann Hughes. Resided in Provo and Ogden. Farmer. *Scriptural Allegory* lists also Bartholomew Bonnet, of Angrogna, who migrated in June, 1856.

Brodero, Dominic, born in France, baptized in Liverpool, migrated March 31, 1855.

Cardon, Elder Philippe (1801), Prarostino, wife Marie, nee Tourn. Four sons: John, Louis Philip, Paul, and Thomas B., and two daughters: Marie Madeleine and Catherine. Emigrated February 7, 1854, sailed on *John M. Wood*, arrived in Utah October 28 or 29, 1854, in the Robert Campbell party. Father was elder, high priest, farmer. Lived in Ogden and Logan, Utah. Died August, 1890, in Hyrum, Utah. John married Anne Fourer. Louis Philip, a teacher, married Sara Hunt. Paul married Suzanne Gaudin and Madeleine Beus, was president of 64 Quorum Seventies, missionary to Switzerland and Italy 1898-1900, first policeman and first city treasurer of Logan. Thomas B. married Lucy Smith. Catherine married Moses Byrne. Marie M. married Charles Guild.

Chatelain, Peter (1824), San Germano Chisone. Emigrated November 28, 1855, reached Utah in the Edwin Martin handcart company, November 30, 1856. Wife Madeleine, nee Malan, daughter of Bartholomew Malan, whom he married in Utah. *Scriptural Allegory* lists also Henriette Chatelain, who emigrated on November 28; Catherine and Lydia, who emigrated in April, 1863; and Louise, who emigrated April 23, 1860. All came from San Germano Chisone.

Gardiol, Marie Anne (1834), Prarostino. Emigrated November 28, 1855.

Gaudin, Suzanne (1833). Emigrated November 28, 1855, reaching Utah September 26, 1856, in Edmund Ellsworth handcart company. Married Paul Cardon in Utah.

Gaydou, Antoine, born in France. Emigrated March 31, 1855. Husband of Marie Catherine Malan.

Justet, Marie. Pinache. Emigrated March 31, 1855.

Lazald, Peter (1806), Pinache. Emigrated November 28, 1855.

Malan, Elder J. Daniel, born November 10, 1804, Prassuit, Angrogna, died May 6, 1886, in Ogden, Utah. Wife, Pauline, nee Combe, born August 15, 1805, Prassuit, Angrogna, died June 23, 1864, in Ogden, Utah. Chil-

dren: Marie Catherine (1829) came as wife of Antoine Gaydou. In Ogden, Utah, she married James Barker in 1856. She died in 1883. Jean Daniel (1832) died in Ogden, 1912. Jean Étienne (1835) died in Salt Lake City, 1926. Jeanne Dina (1844) died in Ogden in 1889. Madeleine (1839) died in Ogden in 1919. Pauline Amelia (twin of Madeleine) died in Ogden in 1925. The twin sisters married Isaac R. Farley in Salt Lake City. Barthélemy (1848) died in Ogden in 1913. The family emigrated March 7, 1855. Sailed from Liverpool to Philadelphia on ship *Juventa*. To Pittsburgh by rail, thence down Ohio and up Missouri River to Atchison, Kansas. Camped at Mormon Grove, arriving in Salt Lake Valley October 28, 1855. Settled in Ogden.

Pons, Elder Barthélemy, Angrogna. Emigrated February 7, 1854, with wife Marie, son David, and daughters Lydia and Marie.

Rivoire, Elder Jacob (1831), San Germano Chisone. Emigrated April, 1866. Anna (1824), San Germano Chisone. Emigrated March 22, 1861.

Rochon, Michel, Pinache, baptized June, 1854. Emigrated November 28, 1855, with wife Suzanne and daughter Elizabeth (1836). *Scriptural Allegory* lists infants Harriet, David, and Michel, who doubtless came with parents. The historian of the Church has no record of the coming of this family or of Marie Gardiol and Peter Lazald.

Roman, David (36), widower, Angrogna, and son Daniel. Emigrated March 31, 1855. David died about 1897. Daniel died about 1915. Farmers.

Rostan, Marthe, Prarostino. Emigrated April 23, 1860.

Stalle, Peter (48), Prarostino, wife Marie (45). Children: Suzanne (19) Bartholomew (16), Maria (11), and Margreta (5). *Scriptural Allegory* lists also Daniel. Family emigrated November 29, 1855. Sailed from Liverpool on December 12, 1855, on *John J. Boyd*.

2. Those Who Came Following the Mormon Converts*

Avondet, Alexandre, San Germano. Arrived in Utah in April, 1892. Married Josephine Prochet, daughter of John and Madeleine Prochet. Six children. Farmer near Ogden. Mormons.

Avondet, Lamy. Brother of Alexandre. San Germano. Arrived in 1904. Married daughter of Michel Combe. Six children. Farmer near Ogden. Mormons.

Balmas, François. Wife Suzanne, son Éli, daughter Helen. To Val-dese in November, 1893. To Utah in 1901. To California in 1903. Lived on large fruit farm near Oakley. Helen married Albert Beux; two daughters Amelia and Sylvia. François died about 1920, son Éli 1927. Mrs. François Balmas died about 1922.

Bertin, Pierre, Angrogna. Arrived March 14, 1891. His wife Marguerite and family came in July, 1892. Settled near Provo. Farmer.

Beux, Albert, Pramollo. To Val-dese in November, 1893; Utah in 1899; California in 1903. Married Helen Balmas, who died 1912. Owner of

* This list was prepared by Mr. Lévi Long, of Ogden, Utah.

large fruit farm, raising apricots, grapes, and almonds. His brother Louis from Pramollo came to California in 1904 and lives, unmarried, with Albert.

Beux, Éli Jean, Pramollo. Came in 1891. Married daughter of Peter J. and Marie Madeleine Mathieu Rivoir, of Provo. Four children. Retired contractor of Ogden.

Bouchard, Henri, Pramollo. Came with family in 1901. Farmer with large family, living near Ogden.

Bouchard, Madame Marthe, and daughter Louise. San Germano. Came in 1900. Provo.

Clapier, David, and wife, Pramollo. To Utah, 1893. Lived on farm near Ogden. Died about 1915. Wife died about 1924.

Clapier, David, Jr., Pramollo. Came in 1890. Married Marthe Combe, daughter of Joseph and Marie Grill Combe. Large family. Prosperous farmer of Ogden. Died 1939.

Combe, Catherine, Pramollo. Came with Joseph Combe family, 1884. Married Paul Beus.

Combe, Jean, Pramollo. To Ogden in 1899. Lives at Unitah, near Ogden, with his family. Farmer.

Combe, Joseph, San Germano. Came in 1882. Family came in 1884. Large farm near Unitah. Large family of seven sons and three daughters: James, John, William, Henry, Philip, Benjamin, Israel, Marthe, Josephine, and Anna. Joseph died in 1922, his wife in 1928. Sons are all farmers and dairymen near Ogden.

Combe, Michel, San Germano. To Utah with wife and children in 1892. Left Utah for Valdese in July, 1893. Returned to Utah in 1897. Now a retired farmer near Ogden. Age eighty.

Combe, Timothy, brother of Catherine. To Utah, 1890. To Arco, Idaho, in 1894.

Duraut, Henri, San Germano. To Provo in 1899; California in 1906. Assistant to Italian consul in San Francisco, 1909-1911. Left California in 1912 for Nice, France.

Griset, ———, San Germano. Came to Provo, but did not settle there. Is now living near Los Angeles, California.

Long, César, San Germano. Settled near Ogden, thence to California, where he still lives.

Long, Émile, and wife. On small farm in Provo.

Long, François, and family, San Germano. On small farm near Ogden, Burch Creek. He came with his sister Mary to Ogden in 1905. Married Bertha Reynaud.

Long, Henri F., Pramollo. Came with wife Suzanne Jahier Long and family in April, 1892. Mrs. Long died at birth of daughter and family removed to Valdese in August, 1893.

Long, Charles H. Son of above. Enlisted in U. S. Army in Charlotte, North Carolina, in March, 1898. Served in Battery K, 6th Artillery. Served

one year at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and two years at Camp McKinley, Hawaii. Became fireman on Southern Pacific Railroad in 1901. Engineer, 1906. Died May 29, 1935. Survived by wife, sons Frank of Ogden, Herman of Denver, Charles and Jack of Glendale, California; and daughter, Mrs. Irene Bennet, of Las Vegas, Nevada.

Long, Lévi. Son of Henri F. Long. Went from Valdese to Utah, July, 1900. Section laborer on Southern Pacific Railroad. Later fireman and engineer in 1906. For last five years has been in the passenger service between Ogden and Carlin, Nevada. Has driven Overland Limited regularly. Retired to farm near Ogden on March 1, 1941. Married Inez Malan, daughter of early pioneers. Three sons: Chester L., Robert M., Gene M. Three daughters: Mrs. Helen Jensen, Mrs. Tressa Bybee, and Mrs. C. D. Carlin, all living in Ogden. Mrs. Long and children are members of the Mormon Church.

Long, Jacques J., Pramollo. Has family. Fruit grower near Provo.

Long, Jean, San Germano. To Utah in 1898. Married Josephine Combe, daughter of Joseph and Marie Grill Combe. She died in 1903. Son, Ernest, living in Logan, Utah. One daughter. Jean Long settled near Ogden.

Long, Henri, San Germano. To Utah in 1901. Unmarried. Retired. Brother of Jean. Ogden.

Martinat, Antoine, San Germano. To Utah in 1892. Left Utah for Valdese in 1893.

Martinat, Barthélemy. Left Utah for Idaho, where he died several years ago.

Martinat, Louis, San Germano. To Valdese in November, 1893; Utah in 1897. Farmer near Ogden. Eighty-one years of age. Wife died about 1927.

Pons, Jean, Philippe, and Alexandre. To Valdese in 1893; Utah in 1901. Jean (unmarried) and Philippe on farms near Ogden. Alexandre employed by Southern Pacific Railroad.

Reynaud, Henri, widower, Pramollo. To Utah, 1920, with three daughters. Died Utah (1931).

Prochet, Jean, Torre Pellice. To Valdese, November, 1893. To Utah in 1899. Family followed in 1901. Employed by Southern Pacific Railroad. Died about 1931, his wife about 1928. Three sons: John, Ernest, and Lawrence, living in Ogden. Daughters: Mrs. Josephine Avondet, of Ogden; Augustine, of San Francisco; Rose, of Los Angeles. Marguerite returned to Italy about 1920.

Reyneau, Joseph. To Utah, March 14, 1891. Farmer of Provo.

Richard, Louis, San Germano. One of scouts sent to North Carolina in 1893. Never settled in Valdese. To Provo, Utah, where he settled. Died about 1935. His wife died about 1933. Farmer.

Rivoir, Peter James, San Germano. Marie Madeleine Mathieu. To Provo, November 18, 1880. Lived for a time in West Jordan. Farmer.

Died in 1916 at age of ninety-one. Wife died 1932 at age of eighty-nine. Daughter, Mrs. Jean Éli Beus, of Ogden, survives.

Roberts, Marguerite, San Germano. Farmer near Provo.

Roberts, Émile, and brother, Alfonzo, San Germano. To Utah in 1906. Farmers at Burch Creek, near Ogden.

Roberts, James, Gus, Victor. Brothers of above. Came to Utah 1902-1906. All in business near Los Angeles, California.

Soulier, Daniel, and family, San Germano. To Provo, July 18, 1891. Farmer. Died about 1930.

Soulier, Henri. Wife, nee Long, of Valdese. Four sons and one daughter. Prosperous farmers near Provo.

Soulier, Paul, San Germano. To Utah in 1884.

Vinçon, Henri. Unmarried. Retired miner on farm near Provo.

III

THE WALDENSES OF BARRY COUNTY, MISSOURI, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COLONY AND CHURCH*

Arnaud, Étienne (1829-1882), wife, Marie (1829-1886). Sons: Émile (1857-1932), Simeon (1864-1884); daughters: Emmeline (1855-1925), Louise, wife of Henry de Jersey, and Edith, now Mrs. J. F. Mermoud. Family came March 1, 1876, from Department de la Drôme (Dauphiné), France.

Avondet, Henri, Piedmont, Italy. Born 1887. Came May 12, 1902. On May 8, 1908, his widowed mother, Louise, and brother Émile, and sister Victorine joined him. Mother (1855-1927) died in home of son Henri. He married Elva Malan, daughter of Henri, and granddaughter of J. P. S. Planchon.

Balmas, Étienne (1849-1938), wife, Henriette (1855-1936). Sons: John, Stephen, Charles, Émile; daughters: Louise, Pauline, and Mary. Came January 1, 1891, from Torre Pellice.

Barolin, David, wife Marianne. Children: David, John, Marie, Emma, and Anna. From Villar about 1884. Lived in Wolf Ridge community, Texas, and in California. Returned to Monett, bought farm, and died.

Bariquand, Épiphanie, wife Marie, and unmarried brother Claude. Children: Pauline and Louis. Came from Department of Saône et Loire, France.

Bertalot, Jacques, wife Suzanne, and Charles, John J., and Mélie. Abel and Marie born in Monett. From Pramollo on April 26, 1881.

Beux, Jean, relative of Griset family. Came from Waldensian valleys about 1882, died 1892.

Bonnet, Pierre, wife, son, and daughter. Came from Angrogna on April 26, 1881. Died about a month after arrival. Son David left Monett. Daughter Susie died about 1889.

* Mr. Mermoud, with the collaboration of several members of the Monett group, furnished most of the data for this list.

Bounous, Bartholomew, born 1872 in Piedmont. Came in 1896 with Étienne Balmas.

Bounous, Daniel (1826-1910), wife Jeannette (1839-1916). Came April 26, 1881, from Pramollo with four sons: Alexandre, Frédéric (1875-1928), Henri, Barthélemy, and daughter Jennie.

Bouvier, Jean (1844-1897), wife Madeleine (1845-1915). Came with family from Pramollo in 1880 and encouraged his brother-in-law, Paul F. Reynaud, to organize group to come the following year. One son, five daughters.

Cairus, Jean (1852-1917), wife Suzanne (1858-1938), and family. Came in 1888.

Catalin, Étienne, cousin of Étienne Courdin, Jr. Came from Uruguay with the first party in 1875.

Coisson, B., and wife. From Uruguay with first party in 1875. To Texas in 1879.

Combe, Barthélemy (1830-1907), wife Martha (1842-1933). Came April 26, 1881. With them came his brother Paul and five children: Émile, Ernest, Emma, Alice, and Fannie (now Mrs. Kruger). Two daughters were born in Monett: Mabel and Frieda.

Costa, Antonio, from Italy with John Mourglia to Florence, Kansas, in 1894. To Monett the following year.

Courdin, David. Came with first party from Uruguay in 1875.

Courdin, Étienne, *père*, and wife. From Uruguay in original party. With them came their son, Étienne, Jr., with three sons: Étienne J. (now living in California, Orange County), David P. (living in Purdy, Missouri), Jean (killed by lightning in Oklahoma in 1917); and five daughters: Madeleine Pontet (daughter of Mrs. Courdin by a previous marriage, who now lives in Monett), Suzanne (now Mrs. Reynaud, living in Monett), Catherine (1867-1937), who married Henri Long, Margaret (1869-1920), who married Émile Combe, and Marie Anne (1871-1931), who married Paul Reynaud.

Coutant, Lucien (1858-1940), from Verdun, France, in 1880. His mother, nee Tessier, and grandmother came about a year later. Catholics who helped during the early days of the Waldensian Church.

Cuendet, Ami (1861-1922), wife Charlotte. Son Eugène, and daughter Julia. Came about 1886 from Ste. Croix, Switzerland. Children born in Missouri: Helen, Nell, Robert, Alice, Alfred, Adèle, Benjamin, Dorothy, Eugenia, and Ami, Jr.

Davit, Daniel, wife, three sons, four daughters. Came from Waldensian valleys about 1888.

De Coq, Benjamin, and family. From France in 1877. Built the first church. Died in Carthage, Missouri.

Gaydou, Matthieu (1847-1916), wife Catherine (1849-1929), one son, five daughters, one of whom was the late Mrs. David P. Courdin. From Angrogna in 1881.

Griset, Jacques, wife Louise. Came about 1880 from Val Cluson. Children: Charles, Eugène, William Stephen. Removed to California about 1897.

Griset, Moïse, uncle of Jacques, wife Antoinette. Came from Val Cluson about 1884 with Marie, Jacques, Adelaide, Louis, Jean, Charles, Suzanne, and Joshua. To California about 1897.

Hugon, Barthélemy David, with his wife and father Armand Barthélemy, and children: Catherine, Barthélemy, Paul, David, Pauline, Lydia, Annette, and Esther. From Uruguay with first party in 1875. Left for Texas in 1879, where he founded the Waldensian colony of Wolf Ridge.

Jabba, Madame Aline, with son Ernest and daughter Julia. Came from Switzerland in 1884. Madame Aline died in 1904; Julia in 1919. Ernest lived in Ohio, in California for twelve years, then returned to Monett, where he now resides.

Jacques, Jules. Ste. Croix, Switzerland. Had spent some time in New York before coming to Missouri in 1877 or 1878. Brought Joseph, David, Daniel, Emma, Jules, and Dorcas.

Jeanmonod, Jules. Ste. Croix, Switzerland. Came with the Cuendets about 1886. Worked for this family for a year to pay for his passage to America. Left Monett about 1893 with the Reverend H. Junod, who bought a farm in Bentonville, Arkansas.

De Jersey, Henry, from Canada about 1884-1886. Married daughter of Étienne Arnaud. Native of the Island of Jersey, where his father was a missionary. Living in Chicago.

Kruger, William C. (1878-1933), wife, nee Fannie Combe.

Lahla, Gertrude (1844-1901).

Lauteret, David (1836-1906), wife Marguerite (1835-1903). From Uruguay with first party in 1875. Children: Marie (married Alexandre Bounous, died 1929), Daniel, Étienne. Mother of these children died in Uruguay.

Lauteret, Paul, from Waldensian valleys in 1896 with B. Bounous.

Long, Henri (1864-1940), San Germano, uncle of Henri Avondet, came in January, 1885.

Long, Jacques, wife Elizabeth. From Pramollo in 1881. Parents of Mrs. P. F. Reynaud and Mrs. Jean Bouvier.

Magnin, Félix, born 1879 at Charrat, Switzerland. Came to America with parents Louis and Rosine in 1886 and settled in St. James, Missouri. He came to Monett in 1915 with his wife, nee Cuendet, from St. James. His widow now lives in California. Died 1932.

Malan, Henri (1860), Torre Pellice. Came in August, 1883. Left after one month for California. After four years returned to Monett. His wife Anna, nee Planchon (1867-1896), is buried in Waldensian cemetery.

Marchand, Lucien (1830-1899). Came from Ste. Croix, Switzerland, after 1881.

Maynier, Auguste, from near Villar. Lived near Neosho, Missouri. Moved to California in 1882. In 1883 his wife, son, and two daughters joined him. With them went her parents, the Rivoirs, from Monett.

Mermoud, J. F., French ancestry. Parents were Episcopalians. Graduate of Fordham College. Came in 1891 to be near his friend Louis Cuendet, with whom he had been a student in Ste. Croix. Married Edith Arnaud.

Monnet, Louis, Angrogna. Came in 1890 with Louis Plavan. His son Kenneth was born 1918 and died in 1935. His nephew, Louis, Jr., was pharmacist's mate, 2d class, in United States Navy. Died in 1925.

Mourgliia, John, born in Waldensian valleys in 1868. Came in 1894 to Florence, Kansas, to join his uncle, Jacob Mourgliia. To Monett in 1895.

Odin, Barthélemy, father of Mrs. J. P. M. Solomon, old gentleman of about eighty years who came from Pramollo with Henri Malan in 1883. With him came his daughters Annette and Mrs. Caroline Botta, a widow who later became the third wife of Jean P. Planchon of the original party. Her daughter, Dena Botta Day, is now living in Baldwin Park, California. Odin died in Tustin, California.

Planchon, Jean P., wife, six sons: Jean Pierre Étienne (1853-1934), Joseph, Paul, David, Pierre, Henri; and two daughters: Anna and Catherine. From Uruguay, 1875.

Plavan, Frank, David, and Louis. Pramollo. Brothers. Came in 1883.

Pontet, Madeleine, daughter of Mrs. Étienne Courdin. From Uruguay in 1875.

Reynaud, Paul F. (1840-1905), wife Martha (1843-1930), two sons, four daughters. From Pramollo in 1881. Sons: James and Paul; daughters: Marthe, now Mrs. J. P. S. Planchon, Marie, Alexandrine, Josephine, now Mrs. Mourgliia. In Monett were born Émile and Aimé, and Marie, now Mrs. Courdin.

Rivoir, Jean Pierre, wife, son Daniel, daughters Marguerite and Louise, who married David Plavan and after his death his brother Louis. Louise died in 1940.

Rivoire, Laurent, Angrogna, lived for several years in Monett, thence to Valdese with wife, son Waldo and daughter Catherine. Killed in 1940.

Rochon, Louis. Came from Waldensian valleys in late 1880's.

Shields, George, and wife Margaret. Came from Scotland to Canada in 1880 and to Barry County in 1881 with Annie, Margaret, James, William, George, Andrew, Nina, Bertha, and Jessie. Active in early years of the church. Removed to Washington 1907-1910. James and William remained on home place in colony.

Sinagli, Giromina. Born in Milan in 1881. Came to Monett in 1900 and married Louis Monnet.

Solomon, Jean Pierre Michelin, wife Rachel Marie Odin, daughter of B. Odin, with Abel, Samuel, and Pierre, born in the Waldensian valleys. William was born in Uruguay. Alfred and Edward were born in Monett.

Leader of the first party from Uruguay in 1875. Abel has two sons now living in Southern California. His widow lives in Redondo, California. Samuel's widow and two daughters now live in Riverside, California. William Henry has retired from business and lives in Los Angeles, California. Alfred is a professor at the University of California. He has two children, Marie Catherine and Alfred Wilson. Edward, born in Monett, retired teacher of mathematics, living in North Hollywood, California.

Solomon, Jean, and wife. Among the oldest of the original party from Uruguay. With them came their two sons, Jean Pierre and Paul. Paul was married. His wife was the first of the colony to die. She was buried in New Site Church Cemetery. They had three children: Annette, Jean, and Paul. Jean Pierre died about 1877-1878 and was the first to be buried in the Waldensian cemetery.

Schneider, Edward and Louis (1847-1912), from Switzerland.

Stebler, Paul, Switzerland. Married Emma Jacques. Two sons Arthur and Henry and two daughters Ida and Emma born in Monett. He died in 1925.

IV

THE WALDENSES OF WOLF RIDGE, TEXAS*

Barolin, J. David, Villar. Came to Barry County, Missouri, about 1884 with his wife Marianne and David, John, Emma, Marie, and Anna. Charter members of the Wolf Ridge Church. Emma and Anna died in Texas. Family lived for a while in California, then returned to Barry County, where the parents bought land and died. Marie, widow of Daniel Garnier, lives in California.

Coisson, Barthélemy, and wife. From Uruguay to Barry County in the original party of 1875. To Texas in 1879. Returned to Barry County.

Garnier, David, Villar Pellice. To Texas December 23, 1891, with wife Anne, nee Rostagnol, and four daughters: Madeleine, Annie, Mary, and Jennie.

Garnier, John Daniel, Villar Pellice. To Texas December 23, 1891, with wife Marianne, and Madeleine, John, Daniel, Nannie, Annie, Mary, and David. Madeleine married Mr. D. L. McGaugh and lives with a large family in California. John, married with children; David, married; Nannie, wife of Mr. Will Sullivan, with several children; Annie, wife of Mr. Robert Dickson, mother of several children. All live in California.

Gonnet, Étienne, unmarried. Came December 23, 1891. Returned to Italy after a year or two.

Grand, Jean S., unmarried. Came December 23, 1891. Married Annie Solomon. Removed to Haskell County, Texas. Brother-in-law of J. D. Rivoire. Now living on a farm in Haskell County.

Hugon, Armand Barthélemy, born in Lyons, France. From Uruguay to Monett in 1875. To Texas with his son, Barthélemy David Hugon.

* Mrs. Hilda Hugon Cunningham supplied the data for this list.

Hugon, Barthélemy David (1833-1915), Torre Pellice. From Uruguay to Monett in 1875. To Texas in 1879 with his wife and children. Bartholomew Armond married Vernetta Holmn, by whom he had six children, of whom five survive, as follows: Lee lives in Uvalde, Texas; Perry lives on his father's farm in the Wolf Ridge community; Myrta is a registered nurse in Gladewater, Texas; Marie lives in Oklahoma City; Margie lives with her father and mother in Gainesville. Paul Hugon married Cora Ward. Three of their children live in Gainesville, as follows: Esther, one child; Felix, married; David, unmarried, lives with his parents. A second daughter, Ruth, is married and lives in Wichita Falls, Texas. David Hugon married Madeleine Garnier. Their one child, Hilda, married a Presbyterian pastor, Dr. T. M. Cunningham. She is a graduate of the Assembly's Training School, Richmond, Virginia, and serves as student worker of the First Presbyterian Church of Denton, Texas, and as teacher in the State Teachers' College of that city. Pauline Hugon married H. M. Smith. Their four children survive: David, married with two children; Cecil, married; and Willie, married with one stepdaughter, are all farmers in the Wolf Ridge community. Their daughter, Ella, married with two children, lives in Durant, Oklahoma. Lydia Hugon married Mr. W. S. Powers. Their two sons, Aulton and Shive, both married, live in Gainesville. Catherine Hugon married Mr. Victor J. Josselette. Their nine children survive. Six of these, Felix, Lydia, Annie, Paul, Andrew, and Ardonia, all of whom have several children, live in or near Haskell. David Josselette lives in Sierra Blanca, Texas. He has several children. Esther and Jesse Josselette live in Texas. Annie Hugon married Mr. J. P. Holmn. Their two children, Joel and Birdie, are deceased. Esther Hugon married Mr. Sam Ward. Their two sons, William and Earl, survive.

Jiordin, ———, wife and daughter. Came from Monett.

Josselette, Victor J., from Belgium. Married Catherine Hugon. To Haskell County, Texas, about 1900.

Peyrot, T. B., wife Susie, two children. From Waldensian valleys on December 23, 1891. Mrs. Peyrot survives.

Rivoire, J. D., wife Margaret, five children. From Waldensian valleys on December 23, 1891. Four children survive, as follows: John and Paul own farms in Wolf Ridge community; Susie lives in Fort Worth; Madeleine, a widow, lives in Gainesville.

Solomon, John. From valleys to Uruguay and Monett with wife. Father of Paul Solomon and Judith Solomon Hugon. To Texas with his son.

Solomon, Paul, wife and three children. From Uruguay to Monett in 1875. To Texas in 1879. Paul married Mary Garnier. His brother John married Annie Garnier. The two brothers later removed to Haskell County. Two sons of Paul and Mary Solomon, Charles William and John Calvin, are Presbyterian pastors in Del Rio and Dallas, Texas, respectively, and a third, Roy Louis, is a senior in the University of Oklahoma and a candi-

date for the Christian ministry. Travis Lee Solomon is a farmer near Haskell. David Paul Solomon is a mechanic in California. The one daughter, Evelena, lives in Haskell.

Vigne, Jean, wife Marie and three children. From Waldensian valleys to Texas on December 23, 1891. Mrs. Vigne and a daughter Annie have died. John Vigne, his son John Peter, and daughter Susie live in Fort Worth, Texas.

V

THE WALDENSES OF VALDESE, NORTH CAROLINA*

1. *First Party Which Came on the S. S. Zaandam, Arriving in Valdese on May 29, 1893*

Giraud, Jean, 34, unmarried, Pramollo. Returned to Italy in 1894.

Guigou, Jean, 41, Prali, wife Catherine, nee Guigou. Sons: Louis Philippe, Étienne, and Alexis. Daughter, Naomi. He died in 1911. His widow married Jean Garrou.

Micol, Jaubert, Massello, wife Jeanne, nee Tron. Sons: Jean, Emanuel, and Victor. Daughter Marguerite married Jean Pons, son of Albert and Jeanne Pons. Wife Jeanne died in 1904. He married Mrs. Henriette Richard, nee Ghigo, of Prali, sister of Pastor Ghigo. Mr. and Mrs. Micol died in 1928.

Pons, Albert, 35, Massello. His family came in August, 1893. He died April 7, 1940.

Pons, François, 24, Gardiole, Prali. Returned to Italy in 1895. Returned to Valdese in 1897. Married Italia Mourglia. Two sons: William and Henry; three daughters: Céline, Lina, and Alice.

Pons, Jean Henri, 30, Gardiole, Prali. Returned to Italy in 1895 and back to Valdese in 1897. Married Jeanne, nee Tron, of Rodoretto, who died in 1933. He died in 1940.

Refour, Jean François, 42, Faët, son Jean. His wife Marie Pons and son François came in November, 1893. Son Jean married Julia Williams, of Blowing Rock, who died in 1901.

Richard, Philippe, 30, Prali, wife Marianne Louise, nee Ribet, of Massello. Two sons: Philippe and Étienne. Removed to Norfolk, Virginia, where family still lives.

Tron, François, 18, Prali, wife Marguerite, nee Garrou of Prali, who died June 14, 1937.

Tron, Henri, 44, Massello. His family came in August, 1893. Died in White Pine, Tennessee, in 1907. Buried in Valdese.

Tron, Pierre, 39, Massello, wife Louise, nee Pons, of Besse, Perrero. One son, Albert, one daughter Madeleine. He died in 1925; his wife in

* Based largely on compilations of Mr. Antoine Grill and Mr. Étienne Guigou. The manuscript list prepared by the late Étienne Guigou was loaned by his brother, Mr. L. P. Guigou.

1927. Albert married Adele Bouchard. Madeleine married F. W. Tise, of Drexel, North Carolina. Second husband is John Peyrot from Crouset, Prali, who came to Valdese from New York in 1940.

2. From Utah in June, 1893

Martinat, Antoine, San Germano Chisone, wife Anne Marie, nee Tron, of Rodoretto. Three sons: Émile, Henri F., and Ernest; two daughters: Lydia and Marie. Mrs. Martinat died in 1900. Family went to Utah in 1892.

Cardon, Jacques, left shortly for New York.

3. From Utah on August 21, 1893

Combe, Michel, San Germano Chisone, with wife and children. They returned to Utah in 1897. Migrated to Utah in 1892.

Long, Henri F., Pramollo. Widower. Three sons: John, Charles, and Lévi; three daughters: Anais, Henriette, and Suzanne. He married as second wife Césarine Jahier, of Pramollo, to whom Henri and Helen were born. John married Marguerite Gaydou, of Pomaretto, and later Henriette Vinay Lavanchi. Anais married Albert Bleynat, of Pomaretto, in New York. Charles and Lévi returned to Utah. Suzanne returned to Utah, marrying Mr. J. C. Crane. She now lives in Huntington Park, California. She has three daughters: Eleanor, Caroline, and Leola.

4. From Italy on S. S. La Bretagne, August 23, 1893

Bouchard, Étienne, San Germano Chisone, wife and son came in November.

Perrou, Henri, Prali, wife Junine Grill, who died in 1924.

Pons, Jeanne, wife of Albert, Massello. Sons: Jean, César, and Albert; daughter: Louise. Jean married Marguerite Micol. César married Suzanne Giraud, who died in 1940. Albert married Anita Micol. Louise married Jean Henri Pascal, *feu* Jean. She died in 1938.

Pons, César, Massello, unmarried, brother of Albert. Married Henriette Oxentine, of Blowing Rock. Was in Blowing Rock from 1895 to 1914. Nine children. He died in 1920.

Pons, Samuel, Massello, unmarried, brother of Albert and César. Married Susanne Pascal to whom three children were born: Jean Albert, Benjamin, and Onésime. Jean A. married Jennie Ribet. Benjamin married Marianne Garrou. He died in 1904.

Tron, Marianne, nee Micol, Massello, with Emanuel, Benjamin, Esther. Another daughter was born in Valdese, who married Henri Guigou, now of Hickory, North Carolina. Her husband came in May.

5. From Italy on the S. S. Kaiser Wilhelm II, November 23, 1893

Balmas, François, his wife, Suzanne, nee Plavan, both from Pramollo. Son Heli, and daughter Hélène. Moved to California, where all died.

Barus, François, Riclaretto, wife Catherine, three sons and three daughters. Removed to Durham, North Carolina, where parents died.

Barus, Jean J., Faët, wife Marguerite, nee Barus, of Faët. Sons: Jean and Albert; and daughter: Madeleine. Removed to New York State, where he died. Widow returned to Valdese and died in 1932. Albert married cousin, Helen Barus, in New York City. Jean married Henriette Jacumin and they live in Valdese with children.

Bertalot, Barthélemy, Pramollo, unmarried. Returned to valleys about 1908, where he married. Both have died.

Beux, Albert, Pramollo, unmarried. Married Helen Balmas, of Pramollo, in California and later Suzanne, widow of Bertalot.

Bouchard, Henriette, Prali, with son Henri to join husband who arrived in August.

Coison, Jean, Torre Pellice, with bride. Left Valdese after few months.

Garrou, Jean, père, Prali, wife Marianne, nee Massel, widow Grill. Son François; one grandson Jean Grill. He died May 24, 1920; wife died December 13, 1920.

Garrou, Jean, fils, Prali, wife Marie, nee Pons, of Rodoretto. Sons Jean Louis, Henri F., and Albert F., Marianne and William born in Valdese. Marie died June 5, 1905, and he married Catherine, widow Guigou, in 1912.

Gonnet, ———, San Germano Chisone, wife, one son, one daughter Netta. Returned to Italy about 1895.

Grill, Antoine, Prali, bride Marguerite, nee Grill, who died July 19, 1932. No children.

Griset, Catherine, nee Léger, Ville Sèche. Five sons: Jules, Alexandre, Frédéric, Ernest, and Alfred. Daughter Lydia, who married Auguste Pascal and died in 1911.

Guigou, Jean Thomas, Pramollo, wife Madeleine. Two sons: Jean and Henri; three daughters: Lydia, Amélie, and Louise. Died in 1904, wife in 1899.

Hugon, Paul, Torre Pellice, unmarried.

Jacumin, Jean Jacques, Riclaretto, wife Virginie, nee Bounous. Four sons: Auguste, Henri, Lévi, and Jean; three daughters: Henriette, Lydie, and Augustine. Died June 30, 1927. Wife died September 28, 1937.

Jahier, Louis, Pramollo, unmarried. Returned to Italy after two or three years.

Léger, Jean Jacques, Ville Sèche, wife Marguerite, nee Barus. Two sons: Adolphe and Humbert; five daughters: Louise, Aline, Emma, Lydia, and Fannie, who died in New York. Mrs. Léger died March 8, 1895, and he married Louise, widow Gaydou. He died in 1925. Adolphe married Miss Lowman. Humbert married Marie Parise, of Pomaretto. Louise married Victor Sarazzi from France and died January 5, 1936. Aline married César Peyronnel. Emma died unmarried. Lydia married Alexandre Vinay, who died July 15, 1913, leaving wife and two sons.

Long, Jacques, Pramollo, wife Jacqueline. Two sons: Louis and Edouard; one daughter Elisa. Moved to Utah in 1902, selling his farm to Jean Henri Pascal, *feu*, Jean Henri, who returned from Italy. Daughter married Henri Soulier of Provo, Utah.

Martina, ———, Torre Pellice, unmarried. Only Roman Catholic in party.

Martinat, Louis, San Germano Chisone, wife and several children. To Utah in 1897.

Meytre, Frédéric, Massello, wife Césarine, nee Léger, of Ville Sèche, who died December 29, 1935. Married Jeanne, nee Berger, widow Bartalot, of Prarostino, who came from New York.

Meytre, Henri, Massello, unmarried. Returned to Italy in 1894 and became mayor of his commune, Salza.

Micol, Pierre Emanuel, Massello, bride Madeleine, nee Giraud. He died January 24, 1930. Wife died February 19, 1939. One son and two daughters born in Valdese. Edward married Marguerite Gardiol, of Faët, Anita married Albert O. Pons. Alice is unmarried.

Monet, unmarried, Pramollo. Returned to Italy within one or two years.

Mourglia, Jean Daniel, Torre Pellice, wife Philippine, nee Odin. One son: Adelchi; three daughters: Italia, Albertine, and Christine. Italia married François Pons on return to Valdese. Mourglia died August 26, 1932; his wife October 21, 1924.

Pascal, Antoine, Prali, unmarried. Died in Philadelphia.

Pascal, Jean Henri, *feu* Jean, Rodoretto, unmarried. Came with mother Suzanne, nee Pons, who died May 7, 1935, and his sister Suzanne, who married Samuel Pons of Massello, and brother François, who married Marguerite Rostan of Prali. Jean Henri married Louise Pons, daughter of Albert and Jeanne Pons, who died July 25, 1938.

Pascal, Jean Henri, *feu* Jean Henri, Rodoretto, unmarried. To Spring Valley, Illinois, with brother-in-law Jean Tron, where he lived 1894-1898. Returned to Italy and married Marie Bounous, of Prali. Returned to Valdese with Alfred and Emma in 1902. Died August 23, 1939. Their son, Henry B., died August 23, 1940, at age of twenty-nine years.

Pascal, Philippe, Prali, widower, brother of Antoine. One son, Philippe, Jr., who died in Philadelphia. Father returned to Valdese and died November 5, 1932.

Perrou, Étienne, Prali, wife Madeleine, nee Tron, of Salza. Four sons: Jean, who died early; François, who married Jeanne Pons, of Gardiole, Prali, and died in 1935; Benjamin and Emanuel, married in Chicago. Father died in 1931.

Peyret, Émile, Riclaretto, unmarried. Returned to Italy in 1894.

Peyronel, Henri, Pramollo, unmarried. Died in 1928.

Peyronel, Jean Pierre, Pramollo, brother of Henri, wife Catherine, nee Bertalot. He died in 1925. Wife now living in Waldensian valleys.

Pons, Émile, Perrier-Maneille, unmarried. Returned soon to valleys.

Pons, Jean Jacques, Prali, wife Madeleine, nee Tron, of Prali. Three sons: Jean, François, and Jean Pierre; three daughters: Judith, Jeanne, and Madeleine. He died May 25, 1898. Wife living. Sons married in Asheville. Judith married Daniel Bounous, Jeanne married Frank Perrou, and Madeleine married Henri Courville of Rodoretto.

Pons, Jean Philippe, Perrier-Maneille, wife and three sons. Moved to Utah in 1901.

Prochet, J., Torre Pellice, wife and two sons and one daughter. To Utah in 1899. Family followed in 1901.

Refour, Marie, nee Pons, with one son François, who married Anna Bounous, of Clos de Ville Sèche. Husband and son came in May. He died February 16, 1941. She died March 10, 1940.

*Ribet, J. Ferdinand, Pomaretto, wife Marguerite, nee Baret. Both died in 1923. Three children born in North Carolina: Paul Alexandre, Jennie, and Césarine. Jennie married John A. Pons, *feu* Samuel, and died November 9, 1934.*

Ribet, J. Rodolphe, Pomaretto, wife Catherine, nee Genre-Bert, of Ville Sèche. Two sons: Jean and Ernest. Ferdinand, Lévi, and Frédéric were born in North Carolina. Lived in other points of North Carolina for seven years, and one year in New York. Died 1931.

Salvageot, Hippolyte, Rorà, widower. Two sons: Robert and Alexander. Lived in England and France from 1861 to 1877. Spoke English. Died in 1926.

Tron, François, père, Prali, wife Junine, nee Pascal. Two sons: Daniel and Pierre. He died October 10, 1914; she in 1921.

Tron, Jean, Massello, wife Jeanne, nee Pascal, and daughter Amandine. Went to Spring Valley, Illinois, then to valleys, to New York. Now lives in Valdese.

Vinay, Henri, Pramollo, wife Suzanne, nee Bounous. Two sons: Alexandre, who died July 15, 1913, leaving widow Lydia Léger, and Henri. Two daughters: Louise and Clémentine, both married in New York. He died January 10, 1916; his wife died January 15, 1935.

6. Later Arrivals

Bertalot, Eli, Pramollo, unmarried on coming about 1902, returned to Italy, where he married. Came back to North Carolina, living in Catawba County. Again returned to Italy, coming to Valdese again in 1919 with wife Suzanne and Henri, Giovanni, and Dante, who died in 1919. His widow married Albert Beux, of California, from whom she separated, and now lives with son Dante in Valdese. Henri married Mary L. Grill.

Bleynat, Albert, Massello, wife Anais, nee Long, from Utah. To America in 1910. To Valdese in 1915.

Bounous, Barthélemy, Prali, wife Jeanne, nee Pons. Four sons: Daniel, J. Henri, Auguste, and Philippe; three daughters. To Valdese in 1902. He

died November 9, 1926; his wife died April 24, 1913. Philippe married Elda, nee Gaydou. The latter's brother Pierre Gaydou married Marianne Bounous. Two other daughters are married, living in Boston, Massachusetts.

Bounous, Jean, Riclaretto, one of the two scouts sent to North Carolina in spring of 1893. Came in 1902 with wife Catherine, nee Jacumin. Four sons: Félix, Valentin, François, and Louis. Came to Valdese in 1914; four daughters, of whom Anna married Frank Refour. Both parents are dead.

Clot, Henri, Prali, wife Lucia, nee Boursier. One son Albert and one daughter. To America in 1911. From New York to Valdese in 1915 to establish Waldensian Swiss Embroidery Company.

Courville, Henri, Perrier-Maneille, wife Madeleine, nee Pons, of Rodoretto. To America from Marseilles in 1911, to Valdese in 1916.

Dalmas, Jean Pierre A., Villar, wife Célestine, nee Alliaud. To America in 1900, to Valdese in 1915 with six children: Jean Pierre, Madeleine, Isabelle, Catherine, and others.

Ferrier, J. P., Ville Sèche, unmarried. Came to Valdese in 1938.

Ferrier, Louis, Ville Sèche, unmarried. Came to Valdese in 1919.

Gardiol, Madame Marguerite. Faët. Came to Valdese in 1920 with two daughters: Madeleine, who married Silvio Martinat, and Marguerite, who married Edward Micol. Madame Gardiol died December 31, 1928.

Garrou, Philippe, Prali, wife Marguerite, nee Pons, of Gardiole. Three sons: Émile, Honoré, and Aimé; one daughter Aline. To Valdese in 1919.

Gaydou, Pierre, Massello, unmarried. Came with mother Suzanne and sister Louise, who married J. H. Pascal, of Prali. Pierre married Marianne Bounous, of Prali.

Ghigo, Filippo, Prali. To America in 1894. To Valdese from New York in 1915 to establish Waldensian Baking Company. Wife, Madeleine, nee Rostan, of Prali.

Giraud, Madame Émilie, nee Pons, widow, Massello. One son Benjamin, and one daughter, Suzanne, who married her cousin César Pons and died in 1940. Came in 1919.

Grill, François, Prali, wife Jeanne, nee Clot. One son François, Jr.; daughters: Adèle, who married J. H. Pascal, of Prali; Pauline; Madeleine; Clara; Hélène; Aline—all married in New York City—and Henriette. Came in 1919.

Grill, Henri, Prali, wife Louise, nee Perrou. One son Philippe. To Valdese in 1896. Several years in Manning, South Carolina. Henri, Jr., born in Valdese. Benjamin and Mary born in Manning.

Grill, Philippe, Prali, wife Madeleine, nee Rostan; mother-in-law, Marie, nee Richard, Rostan; five sons: Philippe, Armand, François, Étienne, and Pierre; one daughter Madeleine. Came to Valdese in 1914. Now all in New York.

Jahier, Auguste, Pramollo, widower. Came to Valdese to teach in colony school in 1894 and returned to Italy, where he died.

Jahier, Césarine, Pramollo, to Valdese in 1895 and married Henri F. Long in 1896. Helen and Henri born in 1896 and 1908. Helen married her brother-in-law Albert Bleynat. Long died January 28, 1910.

Marauda, Jean, Pramollo, came a widower from New York and married a Miss Benfield, of Valdese. Came in 1918.

Martellone, Madame Louise, nee Bounous. Came to America in 1900 and to Valdese in 1914. Daughter of Louis Bounous.

Martinat, Henri, Prali, wife, Judith, nee Grill. One son Silvio; one daughter Marie. Came in May, 1901.

Meytre, Jacques, Massello, wife Marie, nee Meytre. One son Pierre, who married Marguerite Pascal. Meytre died February 8, 1938. Came in 1920.

Parise, François, Pomaretto, wife Catherine, nee Ribet. Two sons: Jean and Ferdinand. Came from Marseilles, France, to Manning, South Carolina, about 1904. To Valdese in 1906. Jean married Augustine Jacumin. Died, leaving one daughter. Marie married Humbert Léger. Parise died in 1925. Mrs. Parise deceased.

Pascal, Auguste, Rodoretto. Came unmarried in 1904. Married Lydia Grisot, who died in 1911. Returned to New York, where he married Henriette Martinat, of Prali. Died August 8, 1926.

Pascal, Henri, Rodoretto, wife Adèle, nee Berger, of Prali. One daughter Marguerite. Came in 1919.

Pascal, Henriette, nee Martinat, widow, Prali. Married Auguste Pascal and came to Valdese in 1914.

Pascal, Jacques Henri, Prali, wife Marguerite, nee Martinat. Three daughters: Jeanne, Aline, and Mary. Returned to Italy in 1937. Jeanne married Daniel Tron and returned with husband and father to Italy. Aline married Jean Tron, brother of Daniel. Family came in 1921.

Pascal, Jacques Henri, wife Marie, nee Ferrier. Came in 1922.

Pascal, Jean Henri, Prali. To Valdese first time in 1921. Married Louise Gaydou in New York. Returned to Valdese with son Rinaldo.

Pascal, Jean Henri, Rodoretto, wife Jeanne, nee Pascal. One son Benjamin; one daughter Ida, who married J. H. Bounous, of Prali. Family came in 1906.

Pascal, J. D., Prali, wife Adèle, nee Grill. One daughter Emily. Came in 1921.

Pascal, Julius, Rodoretto, wife Annie, from Sweden, two daughters. Came in 1917.

Perrou, Philippe, père, Prali, wife Marie, nee Pons, from Rodoretto, with son Philippe. Father died February 25, 1905; mother December 10, 1903. Came in 1896.

Peyronel, Frédéric, Riclaretto, wife Marguerite, nee Léger, of Faët, came in 1904 to America, where he married. Came to Valdese in 1914 with one son Jean, who was born in New York. In Valdese, Walter, Milton, and Wilbur were born.

Peyronel, César, brother of above, Riclaretto, wife Aline, nee Léger. Two daughters: Alice and Aline. Aline married Ernest Bertalot, stepson of Frédéric Meytre. To America in 1904.

Ravera, Giuseppe, Ivrea, Italy. In Valdese from 1898 to 1908. Wife, sister-in-law, two sons, two daughters. Left for Northwest, and later returned to Italy.

Ribet, Pierre, Pomaretto, wife Suzanne, nee Bouchard. Four daughters: Marie, Célestine, Henriette, and Elizabeth. One son Gilbert. Lived twelve years in France. Came in 1907. Deceased.

Richard, Suzanne, nee Grill, Prali, widow. Two sons: Louis and Emanuel; one daughter Anita from Chicago in October, 1932.

Rivoire, Laurent, Angrogna, wife Louise, nee Rivoire. Son Waldo; daughter Catherine. Came from Monett, Missouri, in 1924. Killed by motorcycle October 5, 1940.

Rostan, Antoine, Prali, wife Marie, nee Rostan. Son and daughter, Guido and Ivonne, born in New York. To Valdese in 1915 from New York. He came to America in 1903; his wife in 1905.

Rostan, Jean Pierre, Prali, wife Irma, nee Guigou, of Perrero-Maniglia. Son Athos born in New York. Jean Pierre, Jr., in Valdese. Mr. Rostan came to America in 1900. Returned to Italy and back to New York with future wife in 1903. To Valdese in 1915 to establish Waldensian Baking Company.

Rostan, Suzanne, nee Menusan, Prali. Came in 1932 with Stephen and Humbert, Elda (married and living in Chicago), Marguerite (Mrs. Victor, widow), Henriette, Norma (Mrs. Reese), Mary (Mrs. Martinat), Louise, and Anita.

Salvaggio, Jean, Grotte, Sicily, wife Albertine, nee Mourglia. Three daughters. Came from New York to Valdese in 1920.

Sarrazi, Victor, Paris, France, wife Louise, nee Léger. Came from New York to Valdese in 1919.

Squillario, Émile, Novarra, Italy, wife from Prali. George, Raymond, and Ida. Came from New York to Valdese in 1921.

Tagliabue, Romeo, Province of Turin, Italy, unmarried. In Valdese 1895 to 1899. Left for parts unknown.

Trilliet, ———, Belgium, wife and two sons. In Valdese from 1896 to 1899.

Tron, Jean, Prali, wife, one daughter. Came in 1920.

7. Pastors of the Waldensian Presbyterian Church of Valdese

The Reverend Dr. Charles Albert *Tron*. Led first group to Valdese in May, 1893. Returned for a brief visit in 1894.

The Reverend Henri *Vinay* (1893-1894). To California, where he died a few years later.

The Reverend Barthélemy *Soulier* (1894-1900). Returned to Italy and is still active as director of Home for the Aged in San Germano Chisone. Two infant sons are buried in Valdese.

The Reverend Henri *Garrou* (1900-1903). Held pastorate in McDonald, Pennsylvania. Returned to Italy, where he died.

The Reverend *Filippo* Ghigo, native of Prali, first pastorate 1903-1906. Wife, Juliette, nee Rosso, of Turin. Daughter Anita H., born in Valdese. Son, Francis, born in Scranton, Pennsylvania.

The Reverend John *Pons*, first pastorate, 1907-1909. Wife, Lydie, nee Jacumin, of Riclaretto. Three sons: Arnold, Edward, and Walter; one daughter Eveline.

The Reverend Emile H. *Tron* (1913-1916). Returned to Italy, where he died.

The Reverend *Filippo Ghigo* (1916-1917).

The Reverend John *Pons* (1918-1925).

The Reverend J. A. *Verreault* (1925-1931).

The Reverend J. H. *Caligan* (1931-1938). Married Emily Léger.

The Reverend Sylvan S. *Poet* (1939-1941). Native of Torre Pellice. Resigned to accept a pastorate in Middletown, New York.

VI

THE WALDENSES OF PHILADELPHIA AND ITS ENVIRONS*

Mrs. Emma *Alisina* Guala, Villar Pellice, 1921. One child, Lillian.

Mrs. Anne *Allio* Robert, Villar Pellice, 1911.

Mrs. Jeanne *Allio* Casella, Villar Pellice, 1908.

Mrs. Suzette *Allio* Glaudel, Villar Pellice, 1904. Two children: Marcel and Anita.

Baud, Alexandre.

Bein, Miss Emma, Torre Pellice, 1910.

Bein, Aimé, Torre Pellice, 1921.

Bertin, Étienne, Bobbio Pellice, 1906. His wife Judith, nee *Pontet*, came from Bobbio Pellice in 1908. One child, Jeanne.

Berton, Pierre, Bobbio Pellice, 1922.

Bertinat, Joseph.

Mrs. Hélène *Bouissa* Reithar, Villar Pellice, 1922. One daughter, Constance Rose.

Mrs. Aline *Bouissa* Christie, Villar Pellice, 1911.

Bouisse, Joseph E., Villar Pellice, 1919.

Davit, David, Bobbio Pellice, 1904. One daughter, Clémentine.

Davit, Louis, Torre Pellice, 1914. Residence, MacKee City, New Jersey.

Davit, Paul, Torre Pellice, 1910. Now in Tampa, Florida.

Mrs. Lydie *Eynard* Santaguida, Turin, 1913. Four children: Henri, Georges, Charles, and Louise.

Forneron, Louis Eugène, Rorà, 1908. His wife, Louise, nee *Bertinat*, came from Villar Pellice in 1907. Residence: Hammond, New Jersey.

* Pastor Pietro Griglio prepared this list.

Gaudin, Daniel, Prarostino, 1900. His son Daniel is American consul in Alexandria.

Gaudin, Jacques, Prarostino, 1921. His wife Ines, nee *Gardiol*, Prarostino, 1921.

Gaudin, Paul, brother of Daniel, Prarostino, 1924.

Geymet, Miss Irene, Villar Pellice, 1926.

Mrs. Caroline *Janavel* Hall, Villar Pellice, 1909.

Mrs. Cecile *Janavel* Davit, Villar Pellice, 1907.

Mrs. Susanne *Janavel* Huth, Villar Pellice, 1910. Two children: Edward and Catherine Cécile. Residence: Haddonfield, New Jersey.

Marauda, Barthélemy, Luserna San Giovanni, 1905. His wife, Clémentine, nee *Odin*, came from Luserna San Giovanni in 1909. Two daughters: Louise and Evelyn.

Mrs. Judith *Pontet* Baltera, Bobbio Pellice, 1920. One daughter, Evelyn.

Mrs. Marie *Rambeau* Lamont, Villar Pellice, 1908. Four children: Robert, Jenny, Doris, and Eleanor.

Mrs. Susanne *Rambeau* Bertinat, wife of Joseph Bertinat. Villar Pellice, 1920. Three children: Joseph, Dorothy, and Helen.

VII

WALDENSES OF NEW YORK CITY AND ITS ENVIRONS*

Tarnate, Madeleine *Alliaud*, Villar Pellice, 1910. Husband is Catholic. Children: Ernest, Marguerite, Robertina, Liberty. All children are married to Americans except Ernest, who is in the United States Army.

Allio, Adeline. Born in New York. Taken to valleys as a child. Returned in 1938.

Allio, Étienne, Villar Pellice. New Canaan, Connecticut.

Allio, Jean Pierre, Villar Pellice, 1900. Wife Constance Allio, Villar Pellice, 1907. Children: Jean Pierre and Yvonne.

Roth, Marthe *Allio*, Villar Pellice. American husband. Children. Norfolk, Virginia.

Annibali, Guglielmo, Turin, 1936. Wife Guglielmina Decker, Turin, 1936. Children: Filippo and Luciana. Long Island.

Avondet, Albert, Torre Pellice. Wife nee Poët, Torre Pellice. Woodcliff Lake, New Jersey.

Avondet, Alfred, Prarostino. New York City.

Vicere, Marguerite *Avondet*, Prarostino, 1905. Husband Leonardo converted to Protestantism. Brooklyn.

Ayassot, Albert, Villar Pellice, 1907. New York City.

Cavadore, Catherine *Ayassot*, Villar Pellice, 1911. Husband is Catholic. Long Island City.

Ayassot, Nina, Villar Pellice. New York City.

* Pastor Pietro Griglio of the First Waldensian Church of New York supplied the data for this list.

- Baridon*, Jean, Marseilles, 1939. New York City.
- Baridon*, Joseph, Villar Pellice. Flushing, Long Island.
- Baridon*, Paul, Villar Pellice. Wife Judith Planchon, Villar Pellice. Elmhurst, Long Island.
- Baridon*, Pierre, Bobbio Pellice, 1909. Wife Julie Micol, Massello, 1908. Grand City, Long Island.
- Barolin*, Étienne, Villar Pellice, 1911. Wife Adeline Salvageot, Rorà, 1911. Children: Marguerite and Rinaldo. Rinaldo was born in New York, taken to Italy, and returned in 1926. New York City.
- Barus*, Henri, Ville Sèche.
- Barus*, Marie Hélène. Widow.
- Puël, Ilda *Bein*, Torre Pellice, 1928. New York City.
- Bemperad*, Ferruccio. Wife Ottilia Annibali. Both from Turin. Daughters: Anna Maria and Claudia. Woodmere, Long Island.
- Solario, Émilie *Benech*, Angrogna. Husband is Catholic. Daughter Lillian is Protestant.
- Benech*, Jean, Angrogna.
- Leibundguth, Madeleine *Benech*, Angrogna, 1912. Husband is Alsatian Protestant. Two sons born in America.
- Benecchio*, Massimo, Angrogna, 1914. Wife Elisa Jahier, Pramollo, 1930. Daughter Lillian born at Massello. To America, 1930. Fairlawn, New Jersey.
- Cavallero, Émilie *Bert*, Torre Pellice, 1917. Husband is Catholic. Woodside, Long Island.
- Bert*, Hector, Torre Pellice, 1927. Woodside, Long Island.
- Bert*, Suzanne Catalin, Villar Pellice. Two children. New Jersey.
- Bertalot*, Ernest, Prarostino. Wife Alice Peyronel was born in America. Her parents live in Valdese, North Carolina. One daughter. St. Albans, Long Island.
- Speranzini, Atilia *Bertin*. Daughter of Auguste Bertin. Angrogna, 1921. Husband a convert to Protestantism.
- Bertin*, Auguste, Angrogna, 1929. Returned to Cannes, France. To America again in 1937.
- Roeve, Mrs. G. *Bertin*, Luserna San Giovanni. Baldwin, Long Island.
- Bertin*, Henri, Angrogna. Wife Marguerite Benech, Angrogna. Daughters: Edith, born in valleys; and Doris. Lodi, New Jersey.
- Bertin*, Marguerite Coisson, Angrogna, 1914. Widow. Three children: Alfred, Lamy, and Eddy. Brooklyn.
- Bertin*, Robert, Angrogna, 1913. Wife Nelly Malan, Angrogna, 1919. Daughter Lillian is a pianist of great talent. New York City.
- Bertin*, Sigismond Pierre. Son of Auguste Bertin. From Cannes in 1937. Had become a French citizen. Wife is French.
- Berton*, Mrs. Rose. Jewett, Connecticut.
- Zazzarino, Suzanne *Berton*, Villar Pellice, 1921. Husband converted Protestant. Children: Anita and Edward.

Besson, Albert, Angrogna, 1920. Wife Amelia Odin, 1921. Daughter Florence.

Beux, Auguste, Pramollo, 1920. Wife Emilia Gay, Luserna San Giovanni, 1935.

Beux, Edmond, Luserna San Giovanni, 1924. Wife Emma Long, San Germano Chisone, 1922. Son Émile.

Bianchi, Mrs. Marie, Luserna San Giovanni. Widow. Two children, born in America. Hillsdale Manor, New Jersey.

Blanc, Albert, Ville Sèche. Wife Albertine Bosc, Torre Pellice. One son. One daughter. Janitor of First Presbyterian Church.

Blanc, Suzanne Bertoche, Ville Sèche. Widow.

Boerio, Robert. Father a Catholic. Late mother a Protestant.

Bonino, Frank, Prarostino.

Bonjour, Jean, Villar Pellice. Wife Marguerite Mondon. Came in 1919. Daughter Marie born in Villar Pellice in 1914. Orange, New Jersey.

Bosc, Albert, Torre Pellice. Wife Marguerite Menusan, Prali. Son Raymond.

Bosc, Ernest, Torre Pellice. Wife is not a Waldensian. Family on farm in upstate New York.

Bounous, César Philippe, Prali, 1903. Wife Madeleine Clot, Ville Sèche, 1903. Son Alexandre married Italian-American Catholic. Bayside, Long Island.

Viglielmo, Marguerite *Bounous*. Ville Sèche, 1911. Widow. Ulster Park.

Brez, Suzanne, Villar Pellice, 1912.

Cautin, Marguerite *Brunet*, Ville Sèche, 1911. Widow. Ulster Park.

Buffa, Étienne, Angrogna, 1917. Wife Fanny Bein, Torre Pellice, 1917. Son, Marcel.

Buffa, The Reverend Paolo Luigi, Angrogna. Baptist pastor. Wife is American. Several children.

Besnier, Augustine *Caïrus*, Villar Pellice, 1908. French husband.

Serposs, Constance *Caïrus*, Villar Pellice. American husband. Three sons. Brooklyn.

Bongarzone, Hélène *Caïrus*, Villar Pellice. Husband is Lutheran pastor. Union City, New Jersey.

Caïrus, Jules, Villar Pellice, 1907. Daughter Ida. Newark, New Jersey.

Caïrus, Madeleine, Villar Pellice, 1920.

Caïrus, Marguerite. Sister of Mrs. Bongarzone. Retired missionary.

Camal, Félix, Perrier Mancille. Wife is Catholic.

Cardin, Joseph. Flemington, New Jersey.

Cardon, Jules, Prarostino, 1913. Wife Marie Godino, Prarostino, 1914. Son, Jules, came in 1922.

Catalin, Joseph, Villar Pellice, 1921.

Zadra, Marie *Catalin*, Villar Pellice. Husband is a Catholic. Ulster Park.

Catalin, Paul, Bobbio Pellice, 1905. Wife Marie Tessare, was formerly a Catholic. Children: Suzanne, wife of Ernest Jahier; Adèle; Alexandre; and Elda.

Charbonnier, Paul, Bobbio Pellice, 1920. Wife Isola Salvageot, Rorà, 1916. Daughter Inès.

Barbieri, Adeline *Chauvie*, Angrogna, 1909. Widow. Daughters: Lillian, wife of René Grill; and Flora. Woodside, Long Island.

Clot, Auguste, Perrier Maneille. Wife nee Rosseto, San Germano Chisone. West New York, New Jersey.

Clot, Herman, Perrier Maneille. Wife Marguerite Reynaud, Pramollo. Daughter Anita. Portchester, New York.

Clot, Humbert, and wife Perrier Maneille. Two daughters. Midvale, New Jersey.

Coisson, Attilio, Prali, 1923. Wife Céline Caïrus, Villar Pellice, 1922. Children: Guido, Betty, and Robert.

Coisson, David, Prali, 1909. Son of teacher emeritus Barthélemi Coisson. Photographer. Wife is a German-Swiss.

Coisson, Émile, Prali, 1912. Brother of David. Wife Ernesta Forneron, Prarostino, 1913. Son Louis.

Coisson, Jean, Angrogna. Wife Lydie Rivoire.

Constantin, Alexandre, Ville Sèche. New Jersey.

Constantin, Attilio. New Jersey.

Costabel, Ernest, Torre Pellice, 1915. Wife Alexandrine Plenc. Sons: Armand and Rudy.

Costabel, Henri, Torre Pellice, 1915. Wife Pauline Pons, Perrier Maneille, 1913. Son Henri.

Costabel, Louis, Torre Pellice, 1912. Brother of Ernest. Wife is a Catholic.

Zecca, Pauline *Costabel*, Torre Pellice, 1905. Daughter Yvonne.

Costantino, Emmanuele, Prarostino. Wife, a Waldensian from Torre Pellice. Three children.

Massaero, Hélène, *Dalmas*, Villar Pellice, 1907. Husband is a Catholic.

Davit, Jacqueline Janavel, Villar Pellice, 1908. Daughter Henriette.

Acacia, Madeleine *Davit*, Bobbio Pellice.

Davite, Lydie Suzanne Peyrot, Prali, 1921.

Di Pasquale, Michel, Prarostino. Wife is a Catholic.

Durand, Adolphe, Luserna San Giovanni, 1912. Wife Louise Bein, Luserna San Giovanni, 1914. Son René married Inès Pons.

Durand, Alexandrine, Luserna San Giovanni.

Durand, Jean, Torre Pellice. Wife Pauline Gay, Torre Pellice. Children: Edmond and Fernande. Corona, Long Island.

Durand-Canton, Eugène, Torre Pellice, 1906. Wife Louise Balmas, Torre Pellice, 1907. Woodcliff Lake, New Jersey.

- Eynard*, Henriette, Torre Pellice. Children: Jean, Eugène, and Nelly.
- Eynard*, Jean, Torre Pellice. Son of Henriette Eynard. Wife, American Catholic. One son. Elmhurst, Long Island.
- Favat*, Jean, Bobbio Pellice, 1906. Wife Catherine Baridon, Villar Pellice, 1908. Son Jean. Elmhurst, Long Island.
- Favat*, Jean Jacques, Bobbio Pellice, 1910. Wife Josephine Baridon, Villar Pellice, 1908. Sons: Albert and Steven.
- Favat*, Philippe, Villar Pellice. Wife Marguerite.
- Ferrero*, Henri, Perrier Maneille. Wife is a Catholic.
- Ferrier*, Élise, Pomaretto, 1920. With her came her sisters Pauline and Marie.
- Gambert*, Mrs. ——— Giraudin, Torre Pellice. Bergenfield, New Jersey.
- Gardiol*, Mrs. Léa Jacobin, Prarostino. Daughters: Yvonne and Julia. Taken as children to Italy and later returned to America. Yvonne, who won teacher's diploma in Italy, now teaches in New York City.
- Garrou*, Aimé, Prali. Parents live in Valdese. He and brother Honoré are temporarily in New York City.
- Garrou*, Henri, Prali, 1907. When a widower he married Suzanne Pons of Rodoretto. Children by his first wife: Suzanne, Lucien, Irène, and Olga. West Englewood, New Jersey.
- Thiele*, Henriette *Garrou*, Prali, 1908. Husband Richard Thiele is a German-American Protestant. Children: Roger and Elna.
- Garrou*, Louis, Prali, 1920. Wife is a French Protestant. Daughter Lillian.
- Garrou*, Mrs. Marguerite Berger, Prali, 1909. Widow. Two sons.
- Garrou*, Marie, Prali, 1920.
- Viotti*, Marguerite *Gaudin*, Prarostino. Husband is a Catholic. Daughter is a Protestant.
- Gay*, Alexandre, Torre Pellice. Wife is a Swiss Catholic. Children: Yvette and René. Corona, Long Island.
- Gay*, Humbert, Prarostino. Wife Cornélie Cardon, Prarostino. Son Remo is a medical student. Brooklyn.
- Gay*, Oreste. Wife Alice Genre, Rodoretto. Daughter Barbara Alice.
- Gaydou*, Adolphe, Angrogna, 1909. Wife is a Catholic.
- Genre*, Benjamin, and wife. Ville Sèche. New Jersey.
- Genre*, Émile, Rodoretto. Wife is Swiss. Children. Staten Island.
- Geymet*, Paul, Villar Pellice. Daughter Ellen. Another daughter in Waldensian valleys. Irvington on Hudson.
- Geymonat*, Daniel, Bobbio Pellice.
- Geymonat*, Marie, Villar Pellice. Winfield, New Jersey.
- Geymonat*, Mrs. Marie. Cazenovia, New York.
- Geymonat*, Pauline, Villar Pellice, 1921.
- Geymonet*, Mrs. Madeleine.
- Ghigo*, Henri, Perrier Maneille, 1907. Widower. Daughter Ada.
- Giraudin*, ———, Torre Pellice. Woodcliff Lake, New Jersey.

Godin, Annette, Prarostino, 1897. Connecticut.

Godin, Daniel, Prarostino, 1904. Wife is a Catholic from Piedmont. Two sons.

Rihouëy, Mrs. Marie *Godin*, Prarostino, 1906. Husband is a Catholic. Daughter Adrienne is Protestant. Queens Village, Long Island.

Cardinali, Caroline *Godino*. Husband and son are Catholic.

Godino, César, Prarostino. Wife and son are Catholic.

Godino, Céсарine, Prarostino. Daughter by former husband.

Godino, Henri, Prarostino, 1912. Wife Émilie, Prarostino, 1924. Son Rino.

Godino, Ofelia, Prarostino, 1940.

Goss, Jean, Luserna San Giovanni.

Griglio, The Reverend Pietro, Prali, 1910. Pastor of the First Waldensian Church of New York.

Grill, Adèle Meytre, Massello, 1914. Children: Fernande, who married a Catholic and lives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Evelyn; Pauline; and Frank.

Grill, Émile, Ville Sèche, 1921. Wife Marguerite Rostaing, 1921. Daughter Lillian.

Grill, François, Prali. Wife Jeanne Clot, Ville Sèche. To Valdese in 1920, to New York in 1935. For family, see Valdese list.

Villante, Henriette *Grill*, Prali. Sister of Pastor Pietro Griglio. Widow of a Presbyterian pastor of New Rochelle. Two daughters: Anita, wife of Methodist pastor Daniel Bennet of New Hartford, Connecticut; and Mrs. Villante, a social worker for Poughkeepsie Missionary Society.

Grill, Humbert, Prali, 1920. Wife Marianne Garrou, 1921. Daughter Mildred.

Grill, Jean, Prali. Wife Henriette Rostan, Prali. Children: Ida and George.

Nancoz, Judith *Grill*, Prali, 1921. Husband is a Catholic. Daughter Mariette is a Protestant.

Grill, Jules, Ville Sèche. Married. Long Island.

Multare, Marie Fanny *Grill*, Prali, 1913. Married a Catholic. Daughters: Aline and Nadine, both Protestants.

Grill, Philippe, Prali. Wife Célestine Reynaud, Pramollo. Both came in 1911. Their son René married Lillian Berbieri and lives in Woodside, Long Island.

Grill, Philippe. Wife Madeleine Rostan. Both came from Prali in 1914. Children: Madeleine, Armand, Philippe, François, Étienne, and Pierre.

Fonda, Mrs. Tarina *Grill*, Prali. Husband is a Catholic.

Shiel, Mrs. Yvonne *Grill*. Sister of Guido Grill. Husband is Scotch-American. One daughter. Glen Head, Long Island.

Heder, Hugo, Pinerolo. Wife is a Catholic. Union City, New Jersey.

Hugon, The Reverend Auguste, Torre Pellice. Studied for the ministry in America. Wife is Italian-American.

Ribet, Mrs. Madeleine *Jacquemin*. Husband is a Catholic.

Jahier, Adèle Long, Pramollo. Came in 1909 with son Ernest, now married to Suzanne Catalin.

Brügger, Mrs. Emma *Jahier*, Pomaretto. Husband is a Swiss Catholic. Three daughters. Valley Stream, Long Island.

Jahier, Félix, son of Louis, Pomaretto. American wife. Two sons. Huntington Beach, Long Island.

Jahier, Henri Ernest, Pramollo, 1903. Wife Albertine Tron, Massello, 1907. Daughters: Elfi Jahier Bardi, whose husband is a Catholic, one son; Evelyn.

Jahier, Louis, Pomaretto. Huntington Beach, Long Island.

Janavel, Étienne, Villar Pellice, 1908. Wife Jeanne Charbonnier, Villar Pellice, 1907.

Jervis, Ernest, and wife. Both from Torre Pellice. East Orange, New Jersey.

Jervis, George, M.D., Milan. Thiels, New York. Came in 1934.

Jourdan, Jean, Torre Pellice, 1906. Tuxedo Park, New York.

Johnson, Joséphine *Jourdan*, Torre Pellice. Husband is an American. Several children. Queens Village, Long Island.

Long, César, San Giovanni Chisone, 1911. Wife Henriette Combe, who came in 1921. Children: Hélène, Monica, Marguerite, and Yvette.

Long, Edmond, San Germano Chisone, 1922. Confectioner. Wife is a Catholic.

Long, Edvi, San Germano Chisone, 1923. Tailor.

Sciarone, Élise *Long*, Pomaretto, 1916. Returned to Italy, then back to America. Husband is a convert to Protestantism. For the past eighteen years she has been employed at the Brooklyn City Mission.

Long, Heli, and wife, Pramollo. Pleasantville, New York.

Long, Henri, Pramollo, 1914. Wife Léonie Avondet. Sons: Remo and Henri. Hillburn, New York.

Lunghi, Fortunato, Rio Marina, Elba, 1927. Wife Albertina Odin, Luserna San Giovanni, 1937. Son Alberto Eugenio.

Gherlando, Mrs. Léa *Malan*, Villar Pellice.

Malanot, Jean, and his wife Jeanne came from Ville Sèche in 1910. Children: Armand and Alice.

Marauda, Albert, Torre Pellice. Wife Madeleine Michelin, Villar Pellice. Children: Marcel and Alice.

Marauda, Paul, Torre Pellice, 1913.

Martinat, Louis, Prali. Wife Jenny Ghigo. Daughter Alexandrine.

De Vita, Mrs. ——— *Martinat*, Villar Pellice. Husband is a Catholic.

Martinengo, Marie Louise, Turin.

Bulani, Mrs. Lévia *Mathieu*, Massello. Husband is a Swiss Catholic. Daughter is a Protestant. Maryland.

Maugeri, The Reverend Giacomo, Sicily. Former evangelist of the Waldensian Church. Now pastor emeritus of the Presbyterian Church. Two sons, three daughters. Brooklyn.

Menusan, Henri, Perrier Maneille, 1913. Wife is a Catholic. Son Henri is a Protestant. Corona, Long Island.

Menusan, Henri, Perrier Maneille, 1914. Wife Marguerite Reynaud, San Germano Chisone, 1913.

Hirn, Olga *Menusan*, Perrier Maneille. Husband is a French Protestant. Children: Lillian, who married an American Catholic; and Raymond. She came in 1908.

Sentenac, Mrs. ——— *Menusan*, Perrier Maneille. Husband is a French Catholic. Newark, New Jersey.

Meyron, Paul, Villar Pellice, 1905. Wife is English. Whitestone, Long Island.

Michelin, Robert, Villar Pellice. Born in New York. Taken to valleys as infant. About to enter United States Army.

Micol, Alexandre, Massello. Wife is English.

Micol, Eléonore, Massello. Missionary. Trenton, New Jersey.

De Arcangelis, Emma *Micol*. Husband is Catholic. Son is Protestant. Roosevelt, Long Island.

Micol, Emmanuel, Massello, 1910. Wife is Russian-American.

Micol, Henri, Massello. Wife Adelaïde Pons, Perrier Maneille. Sons: Aldo and Roger.

Clancy, Louise *Micol*, Massello, 1907. Husband is Irish-American Catholic. Daughter Catherine is a Protestant. Brooklyn.

Masi, Louise *Micol*, Massello, 1908. Husband, formerly a Catholic, came in 1906. Son Ernest. Grand City, Staten Island.

Micol, Lydie Constantin, Ville Sèche, 1911. Widow. Sons: Henry, United States Army; and Albert.

Mondon, Luia, Torre Pellice. Long Island.

Hogan, Suzanne *Mondon*, Bobbio Pellice. Husband is Catholic. He is a teacher. Three children.

Natali, Mrs. Rosetta, Forano Sabina. Not of Waldensian ancestry. A missionary of the New York City Mission.

Negrin, Élisée, Bobbio Pellice. Wife Henriette Grill, Ville Sèche.

Newhaus, Mrs. Elenore, Massello. Husband is Swiss. Son John.

Noce, Auguste, Torre Pellice. Wife Emma Hugon, Torre Pellice. Children: William and Alice. Jamaica, Long Island.

Odin, Alexandre. Patterson, New Jersey.

Halbig, Mrs. Céline *Odin*. Connecticut.

Brutschy, Mrs. Lina *Odin*. Sister of Céline. Connecticut.

Parise, Adeline, Luserna San Giovanni.

Pascal, Ernest, Perrier Maneille.

Pascal, Henri, Prali, 1904. Returned to Italy and back to New York in 1919. An invalid.

Pascal, Jean, Perrier Maneille, 1906. Wife Delphine Forneron, Prarostino, 1907. Son Émile.

Pascal, Louis, Prali. Wife Suzanne Grill, Prali. Daughters: Suzanne and Tina.

Paschetti, Attilio, Prarostino. Wife Clotilde Avondet, Prarostino. Son Dino.

Pasquet, Émile, French wife. Son Pierre.

Domaine, Mrs. Herméline *Pastre*. Rodoretto, 1906. Husband is a Catholic.

Perrou, François, Prali, 1920. Wife Catherine Rostan, Prali, 1910. Daughter Odette.

Sauthier, Josephine *Persico*, Torre Pellice. Husband is a Swiss Catholic. His son René, by a former wife, is Protestant.

Peyronel, Alexandre, Ville Sèche. Wife Pauline Reynaud, Pramollo. She is an invalid. Sons: Aldo and Raymond.

Hinkley, Mrs. E. *Peyronel*, Perrier Maneille. Maine.

Peyronel, Jacques, and wife. Two children. Bloomfield, New Jersey.

Peyrot, Jean Étienne, Pomaretto, 1921. Wife Louise Pons, Perrier Maneille, 1901.

Peyrot, Louis, Prali, 1906. Wife Marie Rostan, Prali, 1907. Son Émile born in Prali; daughter Evelyn born in America. Both married Americans.

Zando, Mrs. ——— *Peyrot*, San Germano Chisone.

Planchon, Henriette, Torre Pellice.

Qeysin, Mrs. P. *Planchon*, Villar Pellice. Husband is French. Elmhurst, Long Island.

Plavan, Anselme, Luserna San Giovanni, 1910. Wife is Catholic. Son is Protestant.

Moncada, Emma *Plavan*, Luserna San Giovanni. Her husband is a pastor of the Reformed Church of America. Her sister is a missionary. Newburgh, New York.

Plavan, Ernest, Pramollo. An invalid. Brentwood, New Jersey.

Poët, Albert, Torre Pellice, 1910. Children: Stella, Marguerite, and Albert. Newark, New Jersey.

Poët, Charles, Perrier Maneille. Wife Marie Coisson, Prali, 1908.

Poët, Henri, Torre Pellice, 1911. Wife Henriette Guigou, Prali, 1910. Son Remo Barthélemi.

Poët, Jacques, and wife Julia Planchon came in 1919 from Torre Pellice. Son James Robert. Newark, New Jersey.

Poët, Jean, Perrier Maneille, 1922. Wife Jenny Ribet, Pomaretto, 1921. Son Guido.

Poët, Julia, Torre Pellice, 1920. Newark, New Jersey.

Poët, Louis, Perrier Maneille.

Pons, Albert, Rodoretto. Wife and children are Catholics.

Pons, Benjamin, Perrier Maneille, 1907. Wife Lydie Grill, Prali, 1911.

Pons, Catherine, Perrier Mancille, 1920. Mother of Pauline Pons Costabel.

Pons, Émile, Perrier Mancille. Wife Anne Meytre, Massello. Came in 1921. Children: Irène and Valdo.

Pons, Guillaume, Perrier Mancille, 1910.

Pons, Henri, Rodoretto, 1909. Wife Marguerite Coisson, Angrogna, 1910. Children: René and Nelly.

Pons, Jeanne, Perrier Mancille, 1920. Husband is a Catholic. Children are Protestants: Ines, who married René Duraud; Elmo; and Rina.

Marcasano, Julie *Pons*, Massello, 1914. Husband is a Catholic. Daughters: Muriel and Rina.

Pons, Letitia, Perrier Mancille. Sister of Louise Pons Carré. Long Island.

Pons, Louis Henri. Born in America. Father from Pomaretto. Wife is American. Orange, New Jersey.

Carré, Louise *Pons*, Perrier Mancille. Husband is a French Catholic. Son René is a Protestant.

Prochet, Henry. Providence, Rhode Island.

Prochet, Ottavio, Rorà.

Giaveno, Mrs. Silvia *Prochet*, Luserna San Giovanni. Children: Aldo, who married an American; and Marie.

Renti, Marguerite, Angrogna. Husband is a Catholic. Brooklyn.

Revel, Humbert, Pisa. Wife is a Canadian Protestant.

Lageard, Céline *Reynaud*, Pramollo, 1913. Widow. Daughters: Yvette De Voti and Denise Mello.

Reynaud, Émile, Pramollo, 1920. Wife Marguerite Meytre, Massello, 1912.

Reynaud, Henri, Pramollo, 1911. Wife Rose, a convert to Protestantism. Children: Valentino and Valdo.

Ribet, Adolphe.

Ribet, Alexandrine, Pomaretto, 1911.

Bregen, Adeline *Rivoire*. Widow. Two children. Aunt of Armand, Carmen, and Estelle. Smithtown, Long Island.

Rivoire, Albert, Angrogna, 1910. Wife Pauline Jourdan, Angrogna, 1906. Children: Madeleine, a schoolteacher; Pauline, who married an American Protestant; Doris; Albert, United States Navy; and Davit Jean.

Rivoire, Armand, Angrogna, 1913. Wife is a Catholic. Corona, Long Island.

Bardiga, Carmen *Rivoire*, Angrogna, 1912. Sister of Armand. Husband is a Catholic.

Rivoire, Estelle, Angrogna, 1913. Sister of Carmen and Armand.

Rivoire, Henry, Angrogna, 1910. Wife Pauline Eynard.

Rivoire, Jean, Angrogna, 1912. Widower. Children: Annie; Kenneth, United States Navy; and John, Cornell University.

Rivoire, Laurent, Angrogna, 1910.

Rivoire, Laurent, Angrogna, 1906. Wife from Piedmont, converted to Protestantism. Children: Robert, Hélène, Marguerite, Ida, Stella, and Virginia. Connecticut.

Broglia, Lisette *Rivoire*, Angrogna. Husband is a Catholic. Goshen, New York.

Rivoire, Marguerite, Angrogna. Sister of Henri.

Rivoire, Marie Mondon, Bobbio Pellice. Widow. Daughter Hélène. New Jersey.

Rivoire, Paul, and wife. Both from Villar Pellice. Walden, New York.

Rivoire, Silvio, Angrogna, 1927. Wife Dora Ricca, Angrogna, 1927.

Castioni, Evelyn *Robert*, daughter of Jean Robert. Prarostino. Husband is a Catholic. Children: Robert and Marina, both Protestants.

Robert, Jean, Prarostino. Wife Zéline. Forest Hills, Long Island.

Malfroy, Esther *Roman*, Prarostino. Husband is a French Catholic. Daughter Lillian is a Protestant. Woodside, Long Island.

Roman, Paul, Prarostino. An invalid.

Rostan, Catherine, Prali.

Rostan, Jean, Prali. Invalid. Wife is French. Children: Jean and Alice.

Rostan, Jean Pierre, Prali. Wife Jeanne Peyrot, Prali, 1909. Daughters: Letitia and Alice.

Bleuler, Pauline *Rostan*, Torre Pellice. Husband is Swiss. A married daughter lives in California. Sunnyside, Long Island.

Rostan, Philippe, Prali. Wife Catherine Meytre, Massello. Sons: Aldo and Maurice.

Rostan, Pierre Louis, Prali, 1907. Wife Clémentine Grill, nee Bouchard, Pramollo, 1909. Children of Clémentine Grill: Guido, born in Pramollo in 1914; and Yvonne, now Mrs. Thiel, born in Pramollo in 1912.

Saletta, Lidia, Luserna San Giovanni. Born in America. Taken to Italy as a child. Returned to America in 1939. Orange, New Jersey.

Salomon, Auguste, Villar Pellice, 1910. Wife Marthe Pontet, Villar Pellice, 1910. Children: Alexandre, son of Mr. Salomon by a former marriage; and Jacqueline Kaehler, daughter of Mrs. Salomon by former marriage. Alexandre married an American.

Salomon, Étienne, Villar Pellice, 1919. Wife is a Scotch Protestant.

Salomon, Henri, Villar Pellice, 1903. Wife is a French Catholic.

Coulon, Madeleine *Salomon*, Villar Pellice, 1903. Husband is a French Protestant. Children: Robert, who married an American; Victor; and Irma, who married a Mr. Powers. New Milford, New Jersey.

Thies, Marie *Salomon*, Villar Pellice, 1916. Husband is a Catholic. Daughters: Alice, who married an American; and Hélène. New Milford, New Jersey.

Castelli, Isabella *Salvageot*, Rorà, 1912. Husband Jean, a convert to Protestantism. Daughter Irène.

Sappé, Edvi, Pramollo. Wife Marie Janavel, Villar Pellice.

Saratti, Yolanda, Luserna San Giovanni. New Jersey.

Stevens, Judith, Villar Pellice. Late husband was Scotch. Winfield, Long Island.

Carchedi, Louise *Travers*, Torre Pellice, 1932. Her husband Joseph is a Catholic. Her son Louis Travers came from Torre Pellice in 1932.

Geymet, Marie *Travers*, Luserna San Giovanni, 1908. Husband is a Catholic. Daughter Julia is a schoolteacher.

Tron, Amandine, Massello. Invalid. Long Island.

Tron, Amélie, Pramollo. Husband, an invalid, is in Massello. Children: Evelyn, who married an American, and Edmond.

Tron, Auguste, Massello, 1907. Wife Albertine Peyrot, Prali, 1921.

Tron, Céline, Perrier Maneille.

Tron, Emmanuel, Massello, 1914. Wife, nee Pons, Perrier Maneille, 1910. Children: Edwin and Betty.

Keating, Esther *Tron*, Massello. Husband is Irish-American Catholic. Jersey City, New Jersey.

Tron, Helda, Massello. Parents live in Valdese.

Tron, Henri, Massello, 1905. Wife Etilde Gaudin, Prarostino, 1904. Son Émile. Corona, Long Island.

Ramella, Henriette *Tron*, Massello. Husband is a Catholic. Daughter Ruby is a Protestant.

Tron, Jean, Massello.

Tron, Josué, Massello, 1914. Wife Louise Giraud, Massello, 1915. Son Renato.

Di Guilian, Lina *Tron*, Massello. Husband is a Catholic. Son Edmond. Long Island City.

Tron, Louis, Massello, 1901. Plainfield, New Jersey.

Tron, Pierre, Massello, 1899. Wife Madeleine Baud, Prali, 1907. Summit, New Jersey.

Rodin, Suzanne *Tron*, daughter of Jean Tron, of Valdese. Husband is Swiss. One daughter.

Tron, Théophile, Massello. Wife is a Catholic.

Venturini, Mr. ———. Mother, nee Viglielmo, was Waldensian. He was born in America, taken to Waldensian valleys as a child, and returned to America as a young man. Newark, New Jersey.

Di Nardo, Esther *Viglielmo*, Ville Sèche. Wife of Presbyterian pastor, Pietro Di Nardo. Newark, New Jersey.

Viglielmo, Jules, Ville Sèche, 1910. Wife Henriette Bounous, Ville Sèche, 1904. Children: Jules, Alma, Valdo. Ulster Park.

Villielm, George, Ville Sèche, 1908. Wife Henriette Bounous, Ville Sèche, 1908. Son George. Ulster Park.

Vinay, Benjamin C., Ville Sèche, 1921. Wife Marguerite Massel, Ville Sèche, 1921.

Vinay, Émile, Ville Sèche.

Tournet, Henriette *Vinay*, Ville Sèche. Husband is a French Catholic. New Jersey.

Vola, Ernesta, Luserna San Giovanni, 1921.

VIII

SCATTERED WALDENSES*

Carlsen, Judith *Baridon*. Husband is an American. Daughter Florence. California.

Filpi, Pauline *Besson*. Los Angeles, California.

Beux, Albert, Pramollo. Oakley, California.

Ferro, Rosina *Constantin*, Prarostino. Husband is a Catholic. Hollywood, California.

Alabastra, Albertine *Dalmas*, Villar Pellice, 1909. Husband is English. Florida.

Di Francesco, ———, Luserna San Giovanni. Newport, Rhode Island.

Geymonet, Mrs. Madeleine. Ramseyville, Ontario.

Godin, Alfred, and wife. Portland, Oregon.

Hugon, Prospère. Monterey, California.

Long, Albert, Pramollo, 1908. Belmont, British Columbia.

Gianesin, Emilia *Long*. Glencoe, Illinois.

Muston, Louis, Torre Pellice. Whonnock, British Columbia.

Pellenc, Jean Jacques, Villar Pellice, 1911. Wife Marguerite Malan, Luserna San Giovanni, 1911. San Francisco, California.

Olivetti, Marguerite *Pellenc*, Villar Pellice, 1907. Husband is a Catholic. Children: Olivia and Ernest. Protestants. Arbuckle, California.

Ribet, Jenny, Pomaretto. Daughters Émilie and Germaine were born in Italy. Both are married. Santa Barbara, California.

Loeve, Marie *Ribet*, Pomaretto. Husband is Scotch. Honolulu.

Azzali, Virginia *Ribet*. Husband is a Catholic. Two daughters by a former marriage. Boston, Massachusetts.

Rivoir, Alfred. Cupertino, California.

* Pastor Pietro Griglio supplied the data for this incomplete list. He states that these lists are necessarily incomplete, since many of his parish are unmarried and go and come without reporting a change of address. He has not recorded all those who have lived in New York and have returned to Italy.

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